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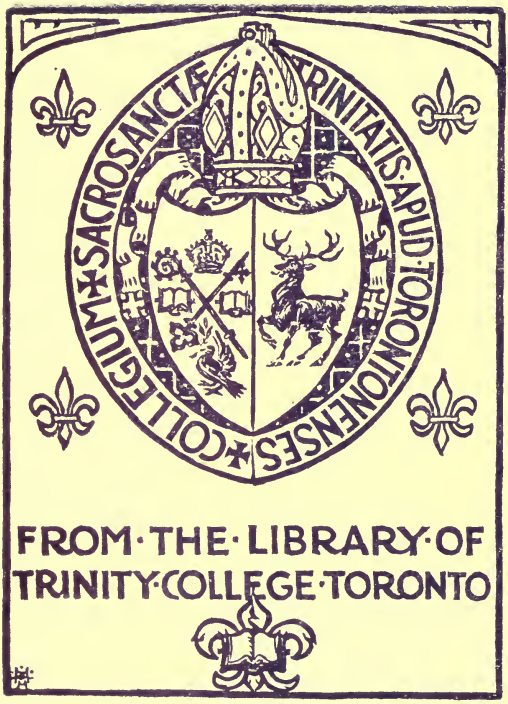

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THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

THE

CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

A Manual of Church Doctrine.

BY THE

REV. THOMAS FARRAR,

RECTOR OF ST. PAUL'S, GUIANA, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE LORD BISHOP OF BARBADOS AND THE WINDWARD ISLANDS;

AUTHOR OF "STEADFAST IN THE FAITH," "THE HARVEST IS PAST," ETC. ETC. ETC.

Third and Enlarged Edition.

"How shall they preach except they be sent?"—ROM. x. 15.

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To the

Right Reverend Father in God,

JOHN,

By Divine Permission,

Lord Bishop of Barbados and the Windward Islands,

This Defence

of the

CHRISTIAN APOSTLESHIP,

and of

THE ENGLISH MINISTRY,

is,

with permission,

Reverently, Dutifully, and Gratefully Dedicated,

BY THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION.

—o—

THE Author of the following Manual wishes to state distinctly that no pretentions to originality are here put forth by him. The Manual is a Compilation from various Authors who have written on the subject, and is intended simply as a help to those who have neither the time nor the opportunity for consulting a number of volumes. Its aim is to set before the non-theological reader a succinct account, historical and doctrinal, of the points at issue.

The question discussed in the following pages is NOT, *What are the circumstances which may afford ground for hope that a departure from the Fellowship of the Apostles may be forgiven, and men still be made the instruments for glorifying* GOD? BUT IT IS, *Whether the doctrine of the transmission of the Apostolic Commission by the Chief Pastor formed part of that* FAITH WHICH WAS ONCE DELIVERED TO THE SAINTS?

And if there be (as he thinks he has shown that there is) every reason from Scripture and Tradition for believing that it did form part of that faith, then, who shall blame him for obeying the Holy Spirit's injunction by the mouth of the Apostle, that we "should EARNESTLY *contend for it*" (St. Jude, ver. 3).

On the first question he would simply repeat the words of Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxx. 18, 19):

"The good Lord pardon every one that prepareth his heart to seek God, the Lord God of his fathers, though he be not cleansed according to the purification of the sanctuary."

WHITSUNTIDE, 1874.

TO THE READER.

—o—

THE following treatise, as was said in the Preface to the First Edition, can pretend to nothing which has not been said a hundred times before with much more wit, and with vastly more learning, on the same or similar questions. The only claim it possesses is, that it is designed to meet difficulties which actually exist in many minds; and if, in view of the many able works which have been written on kindred subjects, some should consider it needless, the Author can only excuse himself on the plea, that religious controversy is a battle which requires many strokes to decide it; and that it behoves those who are on our side to be stirring, lest, trusting too much in the good blows dealt by former generations, we find ourselves in the position of that king who lost a victory because, when he should have struck several times, "he struck thrice and stayed."

An age of controversy may not indicate the highest state of religious activity; but an age of indifference to the truth indicates an unspeakably worse state. In enforcing or repelling an argument, we may, perhaps, occasionally appear as if our earnestness had passed on to severity, but such expressions even of apparent severity are not necessarily inconsistent with mutual respect, and with that sincere regard for God's truth, by which both parties ought to be equally influenced.

The late Dr. Chalmers, in a sermon on the text, "The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God," makes the following remarks, with which I may here be permitted to express my entire concurrence: "The vehemence of passion is one thing, the

vehemence of sentiment is another. There is a hatefulness in the first. There is a certain nobleness to be liked and admired in the second. The former vents itself in malice against the heretic. The latter urges and assails the heresy. The strength of irritation is wholly different from the strength of conviction, and a deep sensation of the importance of truth is wholly different from a sensitive dislike towards him who resists or disowns it. The Bible makes the discrimination between these two, and it tells us to shun the one and to cherish the other to the uttermost. Under its guidance, we shall know, both how to maintain an unyielding front of resistance to the error, and yet to have compassion and courtesy for him who is the victim of it. It is a triumph to conquer by the power of argument, but it is a greater triumph to conciliate and convert by the power of charity." We may, perhaps, be permitted to try what can be done by the combined power of both.

No thoughtful man can possibly contemplate the history of the Church of Christ without the keenest sense of disappointment. After more than eighteen centuries of Christianity, hardly one-third of the inhabitants of the earth are Christians even in name. A learned German statistician (Berghaus) has given the following division of the human race in regard to religion :—

Buddhists	31.2 per cent.
Christians	30.7 „
Mahometans	15.7 „
Brahmanists	13.4 „
Heathens	8.7 „
Jews	0.3 „

(See Max Müller's "Chips from a German Workshop," vol. i. p. 161.)

To a believer, these figures are painful ; to a sceptic, they are a triumph. At this rate the world may ask, not how soon Christianity promises to overspread the world, but how soon the world will succeed in overpowering and superseding Christianity. And the only answer to this question is :—

The Church cannot overspread the world until it has learnt to give up its *practical dissensions.* Unity, which the Lord and

Founder of the household made the distinguishing mark of His Kingdom, and the first condition of its missionary success, is positively thrown aside, as a thing of no importance whatever. And on the day set apart for peace and sweet communion and for "walking in the house of God as friends," Heaven looks down upon the astonishing spectacle of this Christendom of ours split up into God only knows how many different runlets, each taking its own course apart, each worshipping in private buildings of its own, each going aside with some cherished dogma, or some time-honoured grievance of its own, and seeking a growth in all meek and heavenly graces by submitting to customs strictly of its own devising, and listening to teachers rigorously of its own selection. (See "Under His Banner," by H. W. Tucker.)

No heresy was ever yet broached, which was not professedly grounded upon, and deduced from, the Scriptures; and in the present day it is too evident to require proof, that so long as men continue to put the Scriptures to a use for which they were never designed, and refuse to "Hear the Church" (St Matt. xviii. 17), so long controversy must be endless, and sects and heresies will continue to multiply. For, it has truly been said of the Bible as commonly used,—

> "Hic liber est in quo quærit sua dogmata quisque
> Invenit et pariter dogmata quisque sua."

> "One day at least in every week
> The sects of every kind,
> Their doctrines here are sure to seek,
> And just as sure to find."

Surely the bitter indignation of Hume is excusable when he exclaims: "As much as legislators and founders of *States* ought to be honoured and respected among men, so much ought the founders of *Sects* and factions to be detested and hated. . . . Factions subvert government, render laws impotent, and beget the fiercest animosities among men of the same nation, who ought to give mutual assistance and protection to each other. And what

should render the founders of parties more odious, is the difficulty of extirpating these weeds, when once they have taken root in any state. They naturally propagate themselves for many centuries."—(Hume's "Essays," i. 71.)

The extravagant assertion of the rights of the individual conscience put forward by the Dissenting system must, if allowed, render all government—whether civil or religious—impossible. An infallible POPE claims to judge without appeal what matters fall within the area of his infallibility. And an infallible CONSCIENCE must needs do the same. Why should a *conscientious* objector to any Colonial Ordinance or Act of Parliament have distraint put upon his goods? Where shall we stop? The Church of England bases her System on men's *Duties*, Dissent bases hers on men's *Rights*. And the one, which looked at first like servitude, has been proved to favour liberty; the other, though looking at first more like liberty, has been found in practice to favour mental servitude. The obedience claimed for the mere letter of the Bible becomes ere long inevitably transferred to the interpreters of the Book; and the despotism of a Pope, who may at least die and be changed for another and a better man, is simply replaced by the despotism of an oligarchy whose watchful dogmatism never dies, and whose tyranny leaves open no way of escape, or of thinking and breathing freely, as a Christian ought to do, except the way of secession. It is only the Church that can teach men the inestimable value of Christian obedience, the invincible strength gained by ecclesiastical cohesion, and how far grander and more Christ-like a thing it is to bend one's will to public duty, than to stand stiffly and jealously upon one's private rights.—(Phil. ii. 1–14. See Orme's "Life of Baxter," 1830, p. 192.)

The Church of England holds fast all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and of the New Testament, and she keeps them constantly before our eyes, that we may not be led away to errors and fables by "the craft or subtlety of the devil or man." And in order that the whole Christian world might be sure that the religion which the Church of England encourages, and that the faith which she professes, is none other than the true Catholic Faith, received in

common by the ancient Fathers, and confirmed out of the Holy Scriptures, the following golden canon concerning Preachers was made in our Church, and was published with our Articles of Religion in 1571 :—

"They are to take special care not to teach anything . . . to be religiously held or believed by the people, unless it be agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and what the Catholic Fathers and the Bishops of the Ancient Church have actually gathered from that doctrine."—("Liber Quorundam Canonum Disciplinæ Anglicanæ," ed. anno 1571, sect. Concionatores, p. 19.) It is in this way that we combine Holy Scripture and Tradition, making Tradition always subordinate and agreeable to Scripture. And it is here that we find the difference between the member of the Church of England, Protestant as he is, and the popular Protestant as found in other bodies. The popular Protestant says, "By the private judgment of the reader, whoever he may be;" the son of the Church of England says, "Where real difficulty exists, by the historical witness of the Church as to the true meaning." The difference between a declaration made by the existing Church and the testimony borne by the historical witness of the Primitive Church is often overlooked; but it is enormous. It is the latter, not the former, which the Church of England maintains. Had this been always understood, perhaps the acrimony with which the assertors of the right of private judgment have assailed those who showed deference to the Fathers would have been softened. Undoubtedly, private judgment is a right. But that right involves a duty, *that*, namely, *of informing the judging faculty aright before it pronounces judgment*, and this cannot be done if so prime an informant as the Historical Witness of the early Church be neglected or not heard with deference.

The consent of antiquity is chiefly exhibited in the Creeds and Confessions which the ancient Undivided Church agreed to put forth in Councils, and which a later age accepted throughout the Christian world.

It is well, therefore, that religious Protestants should bring

themselves to understand distinctly (and I here use the term, "Protestant," for all who exclusively rest on the Protestant principle of private judgment, as distinct from the traditional and historical basis of Catholic Christianity) on how insecure a tenure they hold those portions of revealed truth which they are sincerely anxious to retain, and how signal must be their discomfiture, if they elect to stand alone against the advancing forces of unbelief. It should be borne in mind that Protestantism, when left to itself, has always betrayed an inherent tendency to gravitate towards Socinianism. This has been abundantly illustrated in the Reformed Churches of France, Germany, and Switzerland; while a case tried before the English law-courts some forty-five years ago (the case of Lady Hewley's charity, in 1832) brought out the startling fact that almost the entire Presbyterian body in England had abandoned the fundamental tenet which discriminates Christianity from Natural Religion.

A studiously vague and general assertion of the supernatural element in religion was only carried by a majority of sixty-one to forty-six (June 1872) in the Synod of the French Protestant Church, after a prolonged and stormy debate of several days' duration. It contains no distinct assertion of the divinity of Christ.

And what shall we say to the crisis in the German Evangelical Church!

It was in Germany that the famous maxim, "*Cujus regio, illius et religio*," first became current. Erastus, from whom the system eventually called after him derived its name, was a Professor at Heidelberg in the sixteenth century. It is therefore quite in accordance with the original tendencies of the German Reformation that, while at this moment efforts are being made in synod to eject the Apostles' Creed, the Emperor should be interposing his supreme authority to maintain it. The intellectual tendency of German Protestantism has from the first been in a rationalistic direction, but its ecclesiastical bias has been Erastian. It has in fact been the inherent and fatal weakness of the orthodox cause in Protestant Germany all along that it has had no authoritative basis but the external support of the Royal

supremacy to rest upon. Luther was a host in himself, but he never succeeded in founding, perhaps never greatly cared to found, any independent ecclesiastical organisation which could hold its own after he was gone. He formulated doctrines, which even during his lifetime were more than once recast, and which his professed followers have long ceased to hold except in name. What they have inherited is his spirit of resistance to authority, and they apply it in ways which the Reformer himself little dreamt of and still less would have approved. We may imagine what the man who met all Caroldstadt's ingenious arguments against the doctrine of the Real Presence with an indignant reiteration of the words, "*Hoc est Corpus Meum*," would have thought of the rationalism which rejects the Apostles' Creed.

The Wesleyans have usually been supposed to set a high value on distinct dogmatic teaching, but with many of them the desire for a *privilegium* against the English Church appears to be overpowering every other feeling. (See in *Times* of August 14 and 15, 1872, the report of a debate on the subject of religious education in the Wesleyan Conference, extending over two days and ending in a drawn battle.) Again, we of the Church of England have no unwritten faith, as Rome has, and admit no innovations of any sort in religion. For we have put aside the vain traditions of men and all new-born dogmas, unsupported by Holy Scripture and by antiquity, and we rest in the one Catholic truth, faith, and religion, as handed down to us from the first ages. We do not bow down before a picture. We do not hold Divine Service in a language not understanded of the people. We do not mutilate the Holy Eucharist, and unwarrantably withhold one-half of it from our people. We do not recognise the Roman Church as the mother or mistress of all other Churches or of our own, nor recognise the supposed Divinely-delegated authority of the Roman Bishop as Christ's Vicar. We have utterly cut off from our Church, as excrescences on the ancient faith, the figments of transubstantiation, purgatory, human merit, the reiteration of the one sacrifice of Christ, offered daily by the priest for the quick and dead, and the decrees of the Papal Councils and their anathemas, which the Pope orders to be

received as Articles of the Faith, under penalty of the loss of eternal salvation. (See Bishop Cosin's "Religion of the Realm of England.")

The Ancient Catholic Church of England can, by an uninterrupted series of ordinations, trace its origin through those zealous missionaries from various nations by whom Christianity was first introduced into Britain, up to the Holy Apostles.* (See Bede's History, lib. ii. cap. 2, lib. iii. cap. 3, 4, 5, 6, 21, and 22. See Palmer's "Origines Liturgicæ," and Mason's "Vindication," book ii. chap. iii.)

The fact that England was mainly converted by the BRITISH missionaries has long been industriously kept out of view. But the truth is, that the whole of England north of the Thames owes its Christianity to the missionaries, not of Rome, but of *the ancient British Church.* Essex and East Anglia, though attempted by the Roman party, relapsed into Paganism, and were finally converted by Fursey and Cedde (or Chad); Northumbria was Christianised by Aidan; Mercia by Aidan's scholars, Diuma, Chad, &c. It was on Chad's head, at his consecration as Bishop of Lichfield, A.D. 644, that the two lines of Episcopal Succession, British and Roman, for the first time converged and united.—(See Mason's "Vindication," book ii. chap. iv. sec. 5, 17.)

In this our Catholic Church all Primitive and Catholic truth is held—all the doctrines which were held universally by the Universal Church, before the division of the East and the West through the ambition of the Pontiffs of Rome—all Catholic truth as distinguishable and distinguished from mediæval superstition and Romish corruption.

There are now two extremes in the Church: the one extreme would receive the Articles without the Prayer Book; the other,

* There were three metropolitan Sees in the three British provinces of Loegria, Albany, and Cambria. The Archbishop of Albany had under him seven bishops; the Archbishop of Cambria had as many; and the Archbishop of London, in Loegria, had under him fourteen.—(See Mason, book ii. chap. iii. p. 62; also Stillingfleet's Ant. Brit. Church, p. 59; also Spelman's "Concilia," vol. i., and Eus. Eccl. Hist., lib. ii. cap. iii.)

the Prayer Book without the Articles. From either extreme all those who love the Church of England *as it is* must stand apart. We are not so to hold Justification by Faith, as to set aside the Sacramental religion of the Prayer Book; neither are we so unduly to elevate the Sacraments, as to set aside the doctrine of Justification by Faith. Puritanism is a bad thing, but Popery is worse. It is because the Church of England is both Catholic and Protestant that her Prayer Book tacitly protests against either extreme; against the irreverence of Ultra-Protestantism on the one hand, against the superstition of Romanism on the other; so that, as Grotius was compelled by his love of truth to admit, "THE ENGLISH LITURGY IS THE FINEST SERVICE IN THE WORLD." We only turn to it with the greater affection, and with the more grateful admiration of the wisdom which guided our Reformers, when we chance to see what the Liturgy before the Reformation was, or happen to meet with the compositions which pass under that name, and which the Church of Rome still retains.

It is sometimes asked by those anxious for the right training of their children, and lamenting the several apostasies which have occurred during the last few years, "Can it be possible that Church Principles lead so frequently to so much unsoundness?" We answer, not "Church Principles," if the term, "Church Principles," be properly understood. The Author of this Manual has always understood by that term, *Church of England Principles;* and has supposed that persons professing to hold "Church Principles," are persons ready (like all the great Divines of the seventeenth century, without a single exception) to stand by the distinguishing principles of the English Reformation, and to contend against Rome with a zeal at least equal to that which they display against Geneva. But of late he has found that by "Church Principles" some persons mean *their own opinions, whatever they may be;* "CATHOLIC PRINCIPLES," in their vocabulary, being the term used to signify *their private judgment*, not what the Prayer Book adopts as Catholic, but what they themselves imagine to be discoverable in primitive or mediæval writers. It becomes necessary for us, therefore, to speak of *Church of England Principles*, if we do not

wish to be deceived or misunderstood.—(See Dr. Hook's "Our Holy and Beautiful House.")

The Author's Protestantism is directed equally against Rome and Geneva, as his contest is equally with both. The Roman Catholic Church AS IT EXISTS NOW is emphatically the Church of the *present;* for it cannot refer to the *past* with honesty, nor to the *future* with confidence. Its system is, and must be, prejudicial to the general truthfulness of those who support it, and this *in direct proportion to the zeal with which they support it.*

Driven from every other point of advantage against the English Church, by the increase of light and by the spread of knowledge —finding our Orders acknowledged as genuine by men like Courayer, Du Pin, and Dr. Lingard; our Liturgy offered express ratification by Pope Pius IV.; our Primate called a "Patriarch" by Reyner, and even "*alterius orbis Papa*" by Pope Adrian; our Provincial Councils such, that is, as are admitted by Canonists, like Lancolet, to supply, "*sæpissime,*" good legislation for the whole Church to accept—finding the grandeur of our Church and her magnificent history conceded by men like Dr. Newman, Romanists are now-a-days, more than ever, taking refuge in this their last desperate stronghold, viz., the absolute necessity to the existence of any Church on earth, that its clergy should hold their "*mission*" from the Pope. "*Though we were to admit of an apostolical succession of Orders in the* ESTABLISHED CHURCH, we never could admit of an apostolical succession of '*Mission,*' jurisdiction, or right to execute those orders.'—(Milner's "End of Controv.," Letter 29.) But we reply by a maxim of the old Canon Law: "*Extrà territorium, impunè non paretur jus-dicenti.*"

Deep as is our obligation to the earlier and more large-hearted Popes for invaluable aid in organising and giving stability to the somewhat loose and shapeless Christianity which we received from the British missionaries, who mainly converted our fore-fathers; still it were not wonderful, if every ancient benefit were totally forgotten and the former loyalty were changed into bitter indignation, in view of what the later King-Popes have essayed,

not only against the peace and order of England, but against the efficiency and spirituality of the English Church. This point has not been sufficiently attended to. Yet surely, if anything is treason within "*the kingdom of God*," if anything deserve the name of "Antichristian" conduct, it is the fearful sacrilege of perverting the very Church of Christ Himself into a school of inveracity, superstition, covetousness, and implacable cruelty. These are among the vices which the Church is expressly commissioned to eradicate. Yet it is these very things which the Papal maxims and conduct in England as elsewhere have tended to foster, and which the deplorable worldliness of a Royal-Papal system actually hindered the lower clergy from effectually combating. The following, *e.g.*, are some of the Papal maxims :—

"Juramentum contrà utilitatem ecclesiasticam non tenet."—(Decretal, ii. 24, 27, quoting Innocent III.)

"Rom. Pontifex jura omnia in scrinio pectoris sui censetur habere."—(Bonif. VIII., ap. Sext. Decret., i. 2, 1.)

"Subesse Romano Pontifici omnem humanam creaturam, declaramus omnino esse de necessitate Salutis."—(Bulla "*Unam Sanctam*," of Bonif. VIII.)

"Eādem reverentiâ exhibeatur imagini Christi, et ipsi Christo. . . . Crux Christi est adoranda adoratione latriæ."—(Aquinas, Summa, iii. 25, 3.)

"Sunt hæretici, ipso jure excommunicati ; item, in filiis dissolvitur patriæ potestatis vinculum ; et ipsi filii, fratres, et sorores debent eos deserere : et cum iis dissolvitur conjugalis servitus, et potest fieri separatio à toro. . . . Item, sunt infames et intestabiles. . . . Confiscari debent omnia bona eorum . . . et hodiè damnandi sunt ad mortem per seculares potestates, et per eos debent comburi."—(Lyndwood, p. 293, Oxford edit.)

And although the carrying into effect of such extreme doctrines and principles has for long been rendered impossible by the advance of human civilisation, no one of them has been expressly and authoritatively condemned or annulled by the Roman Church itself. The spuriousness of the Decretals, after they had passed for true during eight centuries, was owned by all, even in the

Church of Rome. Pope Pius VI. in 1789 judged them worthy of the flames.—(Gratry, ii. 9.) But the system built on the forgery abides still.—(See Carter's "Bampton Lectures," 1871.)

Never was there a lie so audacious and so long lived. But God's blessing abides not on imposture; they produced nothing but ill. See how by craft, dissimulation, and falsehood, the heresy of Honorius has been explained away, the Breviary mutilated, the "Liber Diurnus" (containing the ancient profession of faith of the Popes) suppressed, and history falsified!

To whom will these falsehoods be of profit? To none, neither to God, the Church, nor the Papacy.

We may well ask how can priests go on, reciting Breviaries all their lives, teaching Catechisms, encouraging devotions brimful of falsehoods and utterly false legends, and *not* become callous to truth?

The duty of the Church of England is to see that her children become Churchmen upon principle and upon enlightened conviction: not because of genteel conformity and conventional custom.

The Church of England has two rocks to avoid: *First* that of her feeble-minded sons who mistake Romish Gilding for the Gold of Catholicity; who in spite of their Bishops' "Godly admonitions," and their own oath to obey, taken at the most solemn moment of their lives, and confirmed by the reception of the Holy Communion, yet persist in practising, and in using all their energies to re-introduce what our Church at the Reformation threw overboard as refuse, to wit, the religious despotism of enforced and habitual *Auricular Confession*, or, as they sometimes style it, "Sacramental Confession," and that which inevitably follows in its train, *all the deadly slavery of Ultramontanism.*

The *other rock* is the *Anarchy of religious Communism*, or Congregationalism, which transfers the children of the Church from their proper place as humble, teachable pupils, into the position of patrons who are to be propitiated by flattery and laxity of discipline, which is anything but the Communism of the Early Church.

Both rocks are equally dangerous. And the only safeguard in the Author's humble opinion is, the constitutional and limited government of the English Church. No Churchman can consent to believe the doctrines of ROME which are repugnant alike to Scripture and to common sense, *e.g.*, *Transubstantiation;* nor the cardinal doctrine of GENEVA, viz., the *unlimited* "right of private judgment" in all spiritual matters. These equally contradict common sense, as would be seen in an instant, if only the same rule were applied to intricate points of Law and Medicine by the unlettered and self-illumined.

The Author asks, then, if this in everyday life is so transparently absurd, is it not infinitely more absurd and mischievous to contradict those Articles of the Catholic Faith which are the Decisions of all the Thrones of Judgment in the kingdom of Christ? For a Universal Council, in which all the Apostolical Thrones are represented, AND THE DECREES OF WHICH HAVE BEEN ACCEPTED BY THE WHOLE CHURCH, is the highest Tribunal, against the Decision of which there is no appeal for those who believe in the Incarnation and the reality of the promise made to the Apostles in the words, "*He shall guide you into all truth.*"

We know that ours is the true Faith, because it is the Faith of the undivided Church before the separation of the East and West.

But though neither Churches nor Fathers referred to the Pope of Rome for the solution of their difficulties, did not the Church Universal, in the final resort, appeal to him? The Universal Church has never done so—the Western Church never did so till after the ninth century, when its eyes were darkened, and its judgment was perverted by the publication of the Spurious Decretals. The very existence and authority of the Œcumenical Councils prove the contrary. For what need of Œcumenical Councils, what need of more than the pageantry of December 8th, 1854, if it was not the counsel of MANY which was wanted to *elicit* the truth, but only the authoritative voice of ONE to *declare* it? The canonists are right, on the Ultramontane principle, in pronouncing that Councils must be called by the Pope, and must be

presided over by the Pope, and that the dissension of all the Bishops from the judgment of the Pope would not prevent the words of the Pope being the legitimate decision of the Council and of the Church. But we know that of the six Œcumenical Councils, not one was called by the Pope, only one was presided over by the Pope, one excommunicated a Pope by name, another excommunicated a Pope by implication, and ALL passed laws to which the Pope of Rome, equally with the other Popes of the Christian world, submitted. For Ultramontanism was unknown to the early Church.

(The Sixth Council excommunicated Pope Honorius for heresy. The Fifth Council by implication, but designedly, excommunicated Pope Vigilius in like manner.)

And here we will discuss the misuse of the word CATHOLIC and its family of words and thoughts. I must instance three varieties. We have (1.) the *vulgar*, (2.) the *latitudinarian*, and (3.) the *arithmetical* blunders, all contributing to the degradation of the original and orthodox sense of the word, as we have it in the Creed.

(1.) Of the *vulgar* it is akin to that other vulgarism which has prevailed among the Orientals ever since the Crusades, which makes *Franks* of all the Westerns, though even France, in point of fact, ceased to be Frankish just at the epoch of its modern origin: its people having lost all claim to the name of Franks ever since the battle of Fontenay (A.D. 841).

Such a vulgarism is indeed pardonable: nothing depends upon it, and it is pedantry to correct it seriously. But the misuse of the word "Catholic" is one on which depends much that is sacred in truth and fact, and which does injustice, not only to the vital interests of Christianity, but to innumerable souls. In St. Augustine's day, the word "Catholic" being correctly used for the "Orthodox" throughout the world, he could argue justly that it was a note of "Catholicity" to be called a "Catholic." But Papists who bring forward this argument in behalf of their cause have so altered its meaning that it excludes Augustine himself from all claim to it. They mean by it those who live and die in

full communion with the See of Rome, and *none others*. But St. Augustine, like St. Cyprian, died in separation from communion with that See, as appears from the history of the African Church, a Church which, in point of fact, was never Catholic in the "Romish" and vulgar sense of the word, that is, as submitting to Roman supremacy.

(2.) Then there is the *latitudinarian* use of the word, by which it is made to do service against the very idea in which it originated. *Catholicity* in this new sense is the acknowledgment of all heresies as equally true, and of all believers as equally orthodox. According to this view he is a "*Catholic*" who is "liberal;" that is, who is indifferent to all distinctions between truth and error.

(3.) By knowing nothing of Primitive Antiquity, and living all his days in the mists of Puritanism, the learned American lexicographer, Noah Webster, did not scruple to cut his way out of all the difficulties connected with this word, by coolly informing Christendom that "there is no such thing as 'The Catholic Church.'" He means that no visible Communion includes all Christians. His subsequent editors have modified this startling proposition, however, and define a Catholic as "an adherent of the 'Roman Catholic Church.'" Flat nonsense as all this is, if History, Etymology, and Common Sense have anything to do with Definitions, it must be confessed that such a Definition is sustained by a too common vulgarism of English writers. But is the word to be settled by the use of loose writers and looser thinkers, and not by that of men who weigh their words? I call this the *arithmetical* blunder, because it is commonly defended arithmetically: there are more Romanists than other Christians—therefore, &c. As if Catholicity did not rather depend upon the *quality* than the *quantity*.—("Athanasius Contra Mundum.") On this point we must speak in the words of Vincent of Lerins: "In ipsâ Catholicâ Ecclesiâ magnopere curandum est, ut id teneamus quod *ubique* quod *semper* quod *ab omnibus* creditum est; hoc est enim vere proprieque 'Catholicum.'"—(Commonit. i. 3.)

The terms *Holy See*, *Apostolic See*, *See of St. Peter*, and the like, are mischievously used, especially by rhetorical writers and declaimers, in a spirit of consummate ignorance, which does a great deal of harm to thought. Let it be understood, then, that, in the primitive use of words, every See was *Holy* which had the honour of an Apostolic founder. Antioch was a Holy See, and much more Jerusalem; and Rome is entitled to a similar distinction on the same grounds.

What we object to is the constant misuse of these terms, by Romanists and others, to signify the exclusive right of Rome to such titles. Ignorance on this point leads young students and inexperienced readers to misconceive these phrases when they find them in primitive authors, and they jump, of course, to the conclusion to which Papists so dexterously point them. They imagine that all Antiquity knew of no Holy See, no Apostolic See, no See of St. Peter, but that of Rome, *in which*, by the way, *it is more than probable that St. Peter never sat.*—(See chap. x.)

And so we come to a corresponding class of blunders, which seems to be inwrought and inextricably entangled with fact, in Modern Histories. Yet it is very fatal to the cause of truth, and to clear ideas, even among Scholars and Divines. It is used every day with painful effect, by all political agitators in England, in behalf of Romanism. Thus they speak of "the old Roman Catholic" founders of the Cathedrals, of "the Roman Catholic" Kings of England, of "the old Roman Catholic" times, when such and such Ceremonies were in vogue. So on, *ad nauseam.* You find it infused into the popular mind in such works as Miss Strickland's "Queens of England," and in all popular novels and school-books. Let us look at the facts.

If you had asked any King or Bishop of England, in the ages before the Tudors, to what Church he belonged, he would have answered, "THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND." In fact, England never had a "Roman Catholic" sovereign until James II. became such, and lost his crown in consequence! Never was England worse trampled upon by the See of Rome than in the days of King John. Yet that was the epoch of *Magna Charta.* And its

first words proclaim the freedom of "THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND," —not of "the *Church of Rome* in England"—much less of "the Roman Catholic Church in England,"—a Church of which *nobody ever heard* until after Queen Elizabeth's accession and the Popish recusancy. And what is true of England is true of France and of other Western Churches; their sovereigns and prelates belonged to the "Gallican Church," the "German Church," &c. In those days, then, "the Church of Rome" meant the See of Rome and its Italian provinces, and there was no "ROMAN Catholic Church" in existence. This stupid and self-refuting name was born of the new ideas which took possession of the Latin Churches after Luther's day; and it is a badge of modernism which may well suggest the question, "Where was your religion before Luther?"

Enough, thus far, if my readers are sufficiently cautioned to speak accurately in respect of these truths, viz. (1.) that "the Church of Rome" means, primarily, the See of Rome; (2.) that "the Roman Church" is a phrase corresponding to another very loose phrase, "the Greek Church," and can only be correctly used when we speak of the Roman See itself, or when we carefully show that we include the Churches which are in communion with it. Commonly, the word is used for *Romish*, which involves another shade of thought. Accuracy very often requires us to speak of these Churches, rather, as the Latin Churches.

"As the Church of *Hierusalem*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch* have erred, so, also, the Church of Rome hath erred." Thus carefully speaks our own Mother Church of England, in her Nineteenth Article, carefully limiting the sense of her words by the instances of Hierusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch. She says nothing of "the Roman Catholic Church," which had no existence in 1552—when this Article was first set forth. In "CATHOLIC" theology, this "ROMAN Catholic Church" has no existence. It is a mere confederation of Churches, under a schismatical system forged by the Jesuits, in the Council of Trent.

A "Catholic" knows nothing that has been effected by Decretalism; much more emphatically, nothing that has been

effected by Jesuitism. He holds all Churches professing to be "Catholic" to the "Ancient Usages," and regards every "local" and provincial Constitution that *conflicts* with these Primitive Constitutions as null and void, if not as Schismatical and Heretical. Curalism and Vaticanism are historical realities, indeed, like the Imperialism which supported the Arians against Catholicity, and which reduced the "Catholics" to a small minority. But neither Imperialism nor Papism have any recognised place in the "Catholic Constitutions;" much less have the schismatical decrees of Trent. A "Catholic" recognises no doctrine or institution as "Catholic" that has been innovated since the division of the East and West.

It is a consoling fact, that to this day our controversy, as Anglicans, is with the "See of Rome," and not with any "pretended Roman Church." The historic Latin Churches, and those which have a purely Tridentine origin, are known to us by their individual characteristics, as the "Gallican Church," the "German Church," &c. The Tridentine or Romish Churches we entreat, in all charity, to come out from the communion of Rome. These, which Rome has enslaved and corrupted, have in them a salt of Catholicity which is precious, and out of which, in God's good time, will come a restoration which must be life from the dead.—(See Bishop Coxe on Christian Unity.)

The Church of England has passed through many vicissitudes, but she was seldom more powerful than she is at the present moment. No doubt she is menaced by an attempt to bring her back to that mediæval bondage from which she freed herself three hundred years ago, and to which she will never again submit. There are dangers on the right hand and on the left, but there is in her the real foundation of spiritual life, on which, after all, we may rest and be thankful. All we have to do is to follow the Great Head of the Church in our individual lives, and to lay hold on and preserve that system of ancient "Catholic" truth, united with a free individual Christianity, which He in His great mercy has given us in our Church to cherish and to maintain.

In the words of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury,

addressed to the Croydon Church Conference, 1877 : "The work before us is great; the prospects of this Church of ours are not dark. Some think that I never speak without an undue exaggeration of the brightness of the prospects of the Church over which I am called in God's providence to preside. But they are bright. Look abroad. What other country in the world would you change Churches with? Look at home; which of the other denominations? Look back. What age are you prepared to say it would have been far more satisfactory to have lived in? For my part, I thank God and take courage, and I hope that from this meeting you will go forth each of you to the sphere of your work encouraged by reflecting that there is much to thank God for. Many churches built, many schools endowed and rightly instructed, much zeal for the spread of religion in the land, and a great zeal also for the spread of the Gospel of Christ throughout the world. God knows the age has its difficulties, and those very difficulties will, I doubt not, make you more ready to join heart and hand in the great work which Christ has committed to this Church of England—that grand old historical Church, happily as it came to us from the fathers of the Reformation. It is the Church for which these men died. It is the Church of Hooker, of Jewel, of Jeremy Taylor, of Isaac Barrow, of Cudworth, of Warburton—the Church of John Keble, of Thomas Arnold, of Frederick Maurice, and of Charles Simeon. The Church which was good enough for all these men is good enough for us. The Church which was honoured by the advocacy of so many saints of God will, I believe, go on flourishing in its Master's cause, waiting for the Lord's coming, and be found ready when He comes.

"O PRAY FOR THE PEACE OF JERUSALEM, THEY SHALL PROSPER THAT LOVE THEE."

BISHOP'S COURT, BARBADOS,
F. OF SS. PHILIP AND JAMES, 1879.

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CHAPTER I.

THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH.

What is the Christian Church?

The Kingdom of God on earth.

Who are the officers of this kingdom?

The Christian ministry.

What is their special work?

To preach and to administer Christ's Sacraments, and to have the superintendence of all Christian interests. (Acts i. ii.)

What is the essential and fundamental principle of every well-ordered earthly kingdom?

That no man may presume to exercise any public office within it, nor to act and speak in the Sovereign's name, without express warrant and commission from him, or from those whom he has empowered to grant such commission.

But will not his own fancy or firm persuasion that he holds such a commission be enough?

The very existence of the kingdom requires that he shall be able to adduce to others reasonable proof of this, otherwise, as in the case of a magistrate, neither will the Sovereign enforce, nor even the turnkey obey, the warrants he may sign.

What is the doctrine of the Anglican Church on this subject?

"It is not lawful" (God's law is here intended) "for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching or ministering the Sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and

sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in" (not "by") "the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard" (Art. xxxiii.) See also 9th article of Creed—"the Holy Catholic Church;" "the one Catholic and Apostolic Church."

What is the general opinion on this subject?

That ministers ought to have, and that they have, commission and authority from GOD.

But are all agreed as to the channel or means by which such commission and authority are derived and conveyed?

There are three distinct opinions.

What is the most general opinion, and at the same time the most agreeable to the laws of the universal Church?

The Church of England, in common with nineteen-twentieths of the Christian world, holds that the commission and authority for ministering in the name of GOD has been transmitted from the Apostles, by what is called Episcopal Succession.

What is the meaning of Episcopal Succession?

The Apostles left the power which they had received from Christ to govern the Churches, to preach the gospel, to administer the Sacraments, and to ordain other clergy to assist the bishops; which power and commission has been handed down in the Church from their time till now by bishops consecrating bishops; and none who have not received episcopal ordination are lawful ministers of the Church, or warranted to perform any acts in the name and with the authority of GOD. We hold that our Redeemer designed that there ever should be in His Church to the end of time men having *authority from Him* to minister the Word and Sacraments, to be pastors of flocks, leaders of the worship of His people, priests celebrating, and deacons assisting at His altar. When our Saviour was about to leave the world, He said to the "eleven"—to the *eleven*, observe, and no others of the five hundred brethren (St. Matt. xxviii. 16–20; 1 Cor. xv. 6): "All power is given unto Me in heaven and earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; *and, lo, I am with you* ALWAY, *even unto the end of the world.*" Now, what did our blessed Lord mean when He said He would be with the Apostles

"alway, even unto the end of the world"? Did not all the "eleven" die hundreds of years ago? Have not their bodies centuries since returned to the dust from whence they came? Upon what theory, but that of the doctrine of an Apostolical Succession, can we understand the realisation of Christ's last words? Take any town to which a former King of England gave a charter, or rather to its *Corporation;* is anybody so foolish as to suppose that the privileges of that charter could only be exercised by the men who were members of that Corporation at the time it was given? Do not the Mayor and Corporation of this year of grace, 1879, consider themselves the lawful representatives, the *civic successors*, of those on whom the Corporate privileges were first bestowed? They do so, and justly; because they hold that their charter was given to the first Mayor and Corporation, not as private individuals, but as an aggregate or community; and though particular councillors, &c., may die, yet their vacancies being filled up, and the Corporate body still existing, the members of that body to-day claim to exercise all the privileges exercised by those who were its members the first day it existed. Even so Christ our King gave the ministerial commission to the "eleven" as a body, as an apostolic college, "the Presbytery," as a *priestly Corporation:* they ordained others as their representatives and successors, and these last ordained others, forming a chain unbroken to our days. Thus the promise of Christ to be with the apostolic college *always* has never failed, and never will fail as long as this dispensation lasts. And thus —as our own Archbishop Cranmer writes: "The ministration of GOD'S Word, which our Lord Jesus Christ did first institute, was derived from the Apostles' times to our days. This was the consecration of orders and unction of the Apostles, whereby they at the beginning made bishops and priests, and this shall continue in the Church to the world's end."

(See Preamble to the Ordination Service.) We hold that succession in person without succession in doctrine is no note of a true Church (Acts ii. 42). The Church of England, however, pos sesses both in their full integrity.

What is the second opinion?

The Presbyterian one.

Explain this term?

When the Roman Church had, by reason of ignorance long prevailing, introduced many corruptions in doctrine and discipline,

and for different reasons, more or less reprehensible, set itself against their correction, the impatience of the people discarded the authority of their bishops, and set up congregations in opposition to them, and having been joined by some of the inferior clergy, broached doctrines and practices, till then unknown in Christendom—viz., that the inferior clergy had power to confer orders as well as the chief pastors ; Presbyters, that is, equally with bishops.

What is the third opinion ?

That every collection of private Christians has sufficient power in itself to ordain ministers ; and that such ministers, so appointed, are efficiently ordained for all the offices of the Christian ministry.

What sects of professing Christians hold this last opinion ?

The Independents, or Congregationalists, or so-called "Missionaries," and the modern Methodists.

CHAPTER II.

CONGREGATIONALISM.

Can you give any Old Testament precedent for this kind of Ordination ?

In Judges xvii. we have the man of Mount Ephraim, who undertook something of the sort ; for he, being a private individual, "consecrated one of his sons, who became his priest."

What excuse does the sacred historian give for this monstrous act ?

"In those days there was no king in Israel, every man did that which was right in his own eyes ;" which he repeats at every monstrous tale which he has there collected together, with a view, apparently, of impressing upon the reader the calamitous state of society when such monstrosities were possible.

Can you name any other case in point ?

That of Dathan and Abiram, who being laymen of the tribe of Reuben, set themselves up against GOD'S appointed high priest, on the very plea of modern Independents :—"Ye take too much upon you, SEEING ALL THE CONGREGATION ARE HOLY ; and the Lord is among them ; wherefore then lift ye up yourselves ABOVE THE CONGREGATION ?" (Numb. xvi.)

What was the success of this scheme?

The ruin which fell upon its promoters, one might have thought, would have been enough to have deterred all from countenancing their course, did we not read that the very next day the people who had been eye-witnesses of the destruction of these impious men, dared to murmur on account of it.

Is there any other Old Testament example?

There is the case of Jeroboam, who may be considered as representing in his own person the body of people who together with him had separated themselves from the constituted ministry, and who set up in Samaria "Independent" worship; "and made of the lowest of the people priests of the high places, who were not of the sons of Levi." (See 1 Kings xiii. 33, 34, and xii. 31.)

What is the sacred historian's comment on this act?

"This thing became sin unto the house of Jeroboam, even to cut it off, and to destroy it from off the face of the earth."

Can you give any New Testament example?

There is the case of the seven sons of one Sceva, a Jew, who had agreed among themselves to perform some offices of the then Christian ministry, "for they took upon themselves to call over them that had evil spirits the name of the LORD JESUS" (Acts xix. 13–15.)

What inference do you draw from this?

That it is a hazardous thing to attempt any ministrations without Apostolic warrant, and that it is always *safer* to be fortified by such warrant.

But is not the case of Apollos in favour of Congregationalism?

Apollos seems certainly to have taught before he had received Christian baptism, but as soon as he was accosted by Aquila and Priscilla, the Apostle's "fellow-helpers," he was willing to receive guidance and instruction from them: and instead of setting up congregations "Independent" of them, was ever afterwards in close communion and co-operation with them (Acts xviii. 24–28; Rom. xvi. 3; 1 Cor. iii. 6; Tit. iii. 13). Whereas the Independents broke off from them who, up to that time, had been looked upon as standing in the place of the Apostles, and have ever since remained in opposition to them.

But is not the case of him whom the Apostles mentioned to the Lord as casting out devils, and yet not following with them, more like a case in point?

When the Independents can produce similar miraculous attestation, their irregularity may be equally excused; and when they can show that their congregations, set up IN DIRECT OPPOSITION to the successors of the Apostles, are "NOT against" Christ, they may take all the consolation the case affords them.

But what say you to St. Matt. xvii. 20, "*Where two or three are gathered together in My Name, there am I in the midst of them*"?

I say, first, it must be taken together with the rest of Holy Scripture,—"Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves, for they watch for your souls," &c.—And next, that "IN MY NAME" can only mean IN AND BY THE AUTHORITY of CHRIST. A similar expression to IN THE NAME OF THE QUEEN.

But is not Acts xiii. 1, 2, *sometimes appealed to in support of congregational ordination?*

A comparison of Gal. i. 2, with Acts ix., clearly shows that St. Paul had exercised the office of an Apostle, which he distinctly declares himself *not* to have received either *from* men or *by* men, but immediately from Christ, for at least ten years before the occurrence at Antioch. That transaction, therefore, can only be regarded as a valedictory benediction on the part of the portion of the College of the Apostles which was situated at Antioch, to two of their members, on the occasion of their undertaking a new mission, AND NOT AS ORDINATION.

What do you say to the appointment of the seven deacons?

That though the *choice* of the persons was left with the congregation, it equally shows (Acts vi. 3) that the *appointment* and ordination of them was reserved to the Apostles.

How did the Independents, under Oliver Cromwell, try to alter this testimony?

THEY ALTERED THE TEXT, and had the Bibles printed with "whom ye may appoint," which, if it showed nothing else, showed, at all events, how much importance they attached to the passage.

What is St. Paul's opinion on this subject?

"The time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine, but after their own lusts shall heap to THEMSELVES teachers, having itching ears" (2 Tim. iv. 3).

What ancient ecclesiastical precedent is there in favour of the Independent or Congregational scheme?

I am not aware that a single precedent is, or ever has been, so alleged.

What is St. Jerome's opinion on this subject?

"Where there is no priesthood, there is no Church." "No priest, no Church." "No bishop, no Church." (S. Hierom. adv. Lucif. c. 8.)

"With us bishops hold the place of the Apostles" (Jer. ad Marcell.)

"They are all successors of the Apostles" (Ep. 85.)

"The bishops and an innumerable multitude of priests of a lower grade, and of Levites. . . . That we may know that the Apostolic traditions were taken from the Old Testament; that which Aaron and his sons and the Levites were in the Temple, that let the *bishops* and presbyters and deacons claim to be in the Church" (Hierom. Ep. 27).

The plural ("bishops") implies that *each bishop* is "high priest," and therefore that this dignity was not the exclusive property of the *Bishop of Rome;* a point which is here recommended to the oppugners of the "Jewish analogy" on the ground that there was only one high priest, as there is only one Pope.

Will you explain what you understand by the term Nonconformist Orders?

I am willing to grant to *Nonconformist Orders* all that Nonconformists really claim for themselves in this matter. As regards Orders, all really consistent "Protestants" disown the notion of a divine commission to the ministry. A Nonconformist pastor is a person commissioned *by his flock* to do for them as a matter of convenience what they could do individually, as validly or effectually, but not so pleasantly, for themselves. The notion of his being inherently their spiritual superior is one which they would all but universally reject at once; so that what they style ordination is, in truth, no more than friendly recognition of an office really conferred by popular election, as the now very general custom of allowing mere students for the pastorate to perform every ministerial function sufficiently proves; nor do the Presbyterians, who have kept up a *quasi*-ordination,* which looks at first

* See Campbell's Lectures on Eccl. Hist., Lect. xi., "The terms *ordination*, and *appointment to a particular pastoral charge*, are perfectly synonymous."

as though it meant more than this mere recognition, dispute the validity of the Independent pastorate, which avowedly rests on no other basis than popular choice.

But while we can safely let Nonconformists speak for themselves, we may fairly refuse to let them speak for us, or define our commission and rites as meaning just so much and no more than their own. When a Nonconformist pastor steps out of the defensive into the aggressive posture, and declares himself to be on a perfect equality with any bishop or priest of the Church, he is, no doubt, expressing his real convictions, but we are in no wise bound to accept them.

Our answer should be—"We mean a great deal more than you do by ordination. If what we hold, over and above what you hold, be true, then there is all the difference of divine and human between us, and there can be no question of equality at all. But if we allow you all you demand for yourselves, you have no right to blame us for believing that we have the whole of it—which, indeed, you do not dispute—and a great deal besides which you do not claim. What you are bound to do is to investigate the truth of our additional credentials."

Similarly: it is one thing to say that the office-bearers of great voluntary organisations are perfectly valid functionaries for the prvate discharge of certain duties assigned them by consensual agreement; but it would be quite another thing to assert that they are therefore on a level with judges, generals, governors, and other persons holding, under commission from the Crown, public offices, authorising them to do certain acts, which voluntary organisations admit to lie beyond their powers. A "Grand Master" may of course feel himself greater and better than an Archbishop, but he is obviously not the same thing.

CHAPTER III.

MODERN WESLEYANISM.

What is the opinion of modern Wesleyans on the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession?

Dr. Rigg, one of the foremost men in the Wesleyan Society, speaks of "the Apostolical and Sacramental efficacy" as being of the essence of Popery; and of the Church of England, which teaches them, as being "tainted with the leprosy of Popish superstition."—("The Relations of Wesleyan Methodism and the Church," pp. 62, 63.)

What is their venerable Founder's answer to the charge of "Popery"?

"I hope I need not pass a harder censure on those who affirm this, than that they talk of they know not what, that they betray in themselves the most gross and shameful ignorance. This is a stale objection, which many people make against anything they do not like. It is all Popery out of hand."—("Wesley's Works," vol. vi. p. 293.)

What do modern Wesleyans say to their Founder's written opinions on the Apostolical Succession?

When "Wesley's Works" are produced, stating this doctrine in its strongest terms, the common reply is, that "he may have held this doctrine in his earlier days, but that when he had got rid of his Oxford High-Church notions, he relinquished it."

How far is this assertion true?

In A.D. 1789, THE YEAR BUT ONE BEFORE HIS DEATH, addressing some of the preachers who were ambitious of exercising the functions of the priesthood, he says:—"Ye never dreamed of this for ten or twenty years after ye began to preach. Ye did not then, like Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, seek the priesthood also. Ye knew, "*No man taketh this honour to himself; but he that is called of* GOD, *as was Aaron.*" Oh contain yourselves within your own bounds. Be content with preaching the gospel . . . in GOD'S name stop there."—(The Rev. John Wesley, Sermon at Cork, 4th May 1789. Printed by him in his "Arminian Magazine" for 1790.)

But do not modern Wesleyans also assert that all that Wesley meant by the Apostolical Succession was the simple fact that there had been a continuous succession of Christian ministers who have preached Apostolical doctrines?

Yes; but it is plain that if this be the meaning of "the Apostolical Succession," one might just as well talk of the apostolical succession of constables, for does not the Apostle say, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers;" and does any person doubt that there has been from the Apostles' days to these a succession of officers charged with the preservation of the peace; whilst the Apostle states also that: "all authority is from GOD."

Can you quote John Wesley's words on this point?

In 1739, when asked at Bath by the notorious Beau Nash, by what authority he did those things, he replied, "By the authority of JESUS CHRIST, conveyed to me by the Archbishop of Canterbury, when he laid his hands upon me and said, 'Take thou authority to preach the gospel.'"—("Works," i. p. 381, and ii. pp. 329, 330.)

In his "Works" xii. p. 253, he says—"But they" (*i.e.*, the preachers) "no more take upon them to be priests than to be kings—they take not upon themselves to administer the Sacraments—an honour peculiar to the priests of GOD—only according to their power they exhort their brethren to continue in the grace of GOD."

In 1756 he remonstrated thus with some of his preachers:—"Some of our preachers, who are not ordained, think it quite right to administer the Lord's Supper, and believe it would do much good: I think it quite wrong, and that it would do much hurt. You believe it to be a duty to administer: I BELIEVE IT TO BE A SIN: which, consequently, I dare not tolerate."—("Arminian Mag." 1789, p. 649.)

What is the natural inference from all this?

Here, then, we have John Wesley's own words and acts constantly repeated for fifty years, down to the year before his death, bearing one unvarying testimony to the doctrine that there is no such thing as a presbyter in the Church of Christ, unless he has been ordained by one who has himself been commissioned by the laying on of hands. A fact, which is stated by Wesley's own biographer—himself a Wesleyan—in the following terms:—"He never would acknowledge any ministry that was not conferred in

the Scriptural, Apostolic, and ancient way by laying on of hands." And when two of his dearest friends, the Perronets, broke this rule, he rebuked them most sternly,—"Keep," he says, "your opinion till Doomsday, stupid, self-inconsistent, unprimitive, and unscriptural as it is."—(Moore's "Life of Wesley," vol. ii. p. 345.)

But had Wesley never any doubt on the subject of the Apostolical Succession?

The only doubt ever entertained by Wesley was whether the Apostolical succession was not continued (according to the Presbyterian theory) through the priesthood as well as through the episcopate. He stated himself to have been convinced by a work of Lord King's, that bishops and priests were of one and the same order; and it was under this impression that he proceeded to consecrate Dr. Coke (who was already a priest of the Church of England) as bishop for America. But here the question was at once asked, *If bishops and priests are the same, what need of consecration from Wesley or anybody else?* If they are the same, Coke was already a bishop. By making him submit to consecration, Wesley confessed that he was not a bishop before that act, whilst in words he declared that he was as much a bishop before as after, because "bishop and priest" (said Wesley) "are the same." Had John Wesley only been a little more humble, and "let patience have her perfect work,"—*had he only waited ten weeks longer*, he would not have "forced himself" (1 Sam. xiii. 12) to supply, on September 2, 1784, the needed episcopate, which was actually, on November 14, 1784, supplied by the Scottish consecration of Bishop Seabury.

How did his brother Charles satirise this amazing inconsistency?

> "How easy now are bishops made,
> At man's or woman's whim,
> Wesley his hands on Coke hath laid,
> But who laid hands on him?"

And again Charles Wesley wrote—

> "'Twas age that made the breach, not he."

It is, perhaps, not without its significance that Wesley did not lay hands on Coke openly and in public, *but secretly in his own bed-chamber* at Bristol.

What did Wesley himself say to this sort of thing when he discovered that his disciple was inclined to out-Herod Herod?

Dr. Coke started for America, and there proceeded to do as he had been done by, and confer the episcopate on a certain preacher called Ashbury. But when Wesley found that Ashbury had actually set up as bishop also, he seems to have had his eyes opened to what he had done, and he wrote the so-called bishop as follows: "How can you, how dare you, suffer yourself to be called 'bishop'? I shudder, I start, at the very thought! Men may call me a knave or a fool, a rascal, a scoundrel, and I am content; but they shall never call me bishop. For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, put a full end to this. Let the Presbyterians do what they please, but let the Methodists know their calling better."—(Smith's "Hist. of Methodism," i. p. 524.)

Lord Chancellor King, to whom reference has just been made, wrote a book in which he attempted to prove that bishop and priest were of the same order.

What was his judgment on his own work?

As a fitting climax to the whole affair, Lord King, whose work had led Wesley astray, was so convinced, by a pamphlet written by a clergyman called Sclater, of the utter fallacy of all his arguments about bishops and priests being of the same order, that he withdrew and denounced his own book, and offered Sclater a living which happened to be in his gift.—(See White's "Memoirs of the Episcopal Church in the United States." See also Appendix, iv.)

But did Coke, after all, really believe that he had received Episcopal consecration at the hands of Wesley?

No: for he, a few years after, confessed that he was not a real bishop, by applying to the two American bishops, Seabury and White, for consecration for himself and Ashbury; and this proving unsuccessful, he applied to Lord Liverpool—then Prime Minister—and to Wilberforce, father of the late Bishop of Winchester, to get himself nominated to the Crown for a bishopric in India, but to no purpose. And from these two men (Coke and Ashbury, sham bishops by their own confession, is derived whatever ministerial character may be now possessed by the so-called "Episcopal Methodist Church."

It is curious to observe how Wesley's assumption of Episcopal functions was regarded at the time, and has been regarded since. Coke himself distrusted it. His brother, Charles Wesley,

denounced it openly. Dr. Whitehead, his friend and biographer, regarded it as an error of judgment. Alexander Knox attributed it to senility and infirmity of mind. The Irish Methodists (so lately as 1839) avowed that the notions on which he acted are, "in their judgment, more easily assumed than proved." On the other hand, the Conference, after his death, suppressed certain passages in his journal, and omitted Sermon CXV. altogether, because they made against modern Wesleyans assumptions. Mr. Barrett elaborately defends the ordination. Dr. Stevens, in America, and Dr. Rigg, in England, glory in it.

Supposing, for the sake of argument, the Apostolical Succession through presbyters were valid, can the modern Wesleyans claim any benefit from it?

The modern Wesleyans can claim no benefit from it, since they have not got a shadow of it. For the Wesleyan preachers simply met together, the year after Wesley died, and PUT IT TO THE LOT whether or not they should administer the Sacraments; the LOT said "No." The next year the question was simply PUT TO THE VOTE. Well, the majority said "YES," and thus VOTED themselves into the priesthood! There was no pretence at real ordination: nay, they absolutely repudiated all necessity for it. "We resolved," they said, "that all distinctions between ordained and unordained preachers should cease, and that the being received into full connection by the Conference, and appointed by them to administer the ordinances (*i.e.*, the Sacraments), should be considered a SUFFICIENT ORDINATION WITHOUT THE IMPOSITION OF HANDS."—("Smith's Hist." ii. p. 22.)

For how long did this state of things continue?

It was not till forty-three years afterwards, when a whole generation had passed away, viz., in 1836, that the Wesleyans first set up an Ordination Service with the laying on of hands—but even then the ordainers were not presbyters, for the rite was to be performed by "the president, ex-president, and secretary of the Conference, for the time being, with two other senior preachers."—("Smith's Hist." iii. p. 417.)

Who were the first ordainers?

The president and ex-president for the year 1836 were Jabez Bunting and John Reece: the secretary, Robert Newton;—all were preachers who had themselves received no ordination with laying on of hands from anybody whatever, and consequently had no orders whatever, whether Presbyterian or Episcopal. Up to

that time they had abided by the principles laid down by the Conference of 1793. "We have never sanctioned ordination in England, either in this Conference or in any other, in any degree, or ever attempted it."—("Minutes of Conference," i. p. 281.)

What is the only conclusion to be drawn from this?

That IF the president and his four associates were presbyters WITHOUT ordination, the preachers on whom they laid their hands did not need it. But IF they did need it, then the president and his associates were NOT presbyters without it. Nor is any intelligible explanation to be given why the "itinerant preachers" should assume to themselves the priestly power and deny it to the "local preachers." Whatever commission can be supposed to be derived from a connection with John Wesley is possessed by both parties equally—for the Conference of 1793 enacted "that *the distinction between ordained and unordained preachers shall be dropped.*"—("Smith's Hist." ii. p. 24.)

What is Charles Wesley's opinion on this subject?

Speaking of King Jeroboam, who made Israel to sin by making priests of "whosoever would," he writes—

> "But kings may spare their labour vain:
> For in such happy times as these,
> The vulgar can themselves ordain,
> And priest commence whoever please."

And how strongly he felt on the subject will be seen from the following lines:—

> "Raised from the people's lowest lees,
> Guard, Lord, Thy preaching witnesses;
> Nor let their pride the honour claim
> Of sealing covenants in Thy Name.
>
> "Rather than suffer them to dare
> Usurp the priestly character,
> Save from the arrogant offence,
> And snatch them uncorrupted hence."

What apology does the historian of Wesleyanism make for the soi-disant ordination of Messrs. Bunting, Reece, and Newton?

"The Methodist preachers," he says, "of 1836, held that the true Apostolical succession was that the ministry appointed the ministry, and must continue to do so to the end of the world."

What reason, then, does he assign for the fact that the first Methodist preachers were not ordained?

"The reason was, that they were not accounted ministers but *helpers* to others who held that character; while it was now (*i.e.*, in 1836) an undoubted fact that, BY THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD, they had long ceased to occupy a subordinate position—they were no longer helpers to any class of men, but the CONSTITUTED ministry of a large and growing Christian denomination."—("Smith's Hist." iii. p. 326.)

What does this apology amount to?

To assert it was "by GOD'S Providence" that the preachers ceased to occupy a subordinate position, is not only begging the question, but is also a placing of GOD'S Providence and John Wesley in direct antagonism. How the ordainers were "constituted" a ministry, our author does not tell us. It is plain, however, from what he does say, that they were *not* ordained *by ministers*, as he confesses they ought to be.

Assuredly nothing can be more reasonable than the principle that he *who validly ordains others must have been himself validly ordained*, unless, indeed, he bring with him the same undoubted credentials of a direct mission from above which the Apostles of Jesus Christ brought, and hence an Apostolical succession becomes even *essential* to our ministry. God might, indeed, at His pleasure relax or annul His own laws, but, in order to prove that he has done so, we must be prepared to adduce miraculous evidence, or evidence (if such there be) equally cogent.

But are not modern Wesleyans bound by the opinions of their Founder?

The Methodists in their next Conference after Wesley's death thought so:—"*We engage to follow strictly* the plan which Mr. Wesley left us at his death" (Min. i. 246), and the Methodist's historian and biographer admits that until, and for some time after, Mr. Wesley's death, the Methodists "were not permitted to receive from the hands of their own preachers those sacred ordinances;" nor was "preaching in church hours . . . permitted except 'for special reasons.'"—("Hist. of Methodism," ii. 2, 3, and 691, 692.)

How was the difficulty got over at last?

Wesley's latest and most emphatic declarations *were suppressed*, until in 1828 the suppression was pointed out and complained of by one of Mr. Wesley's surviving friends.

In what other way has modern Wesleyanism shown itself ashamed of its Founder?

According to the present Bishop of Lincoln, the following words on the tablet erected to John Wesley's memory, in the New Chapel in the City Road, and written by Dr. Whitehead, Wesley's friend and biographer, have been *erased:*—"The patron and friend of LAY PREACHERS." But what did it matter after the evil had taken deep root, and the poison had permeated the whole system? As their "Venerable Father" so well points out, "*The pretences for separation may be innumerable, but want of love is always the real cause.*"—("Sermons," ii. 196.)

But is not this practice of suppression an old trick?

Many of John Wesley's papers, manuscripts, and books (and among the latter a copy of the original quarto edition of Shakespeare, annotated throughout in Wesley's own handwriting) fell after his death into the hands of one of the preachers (Pawson), who forthwith consigned them to the flames, as in his opinion they did not *tend to godliness!* This same preacher was one of the principal agents in inducing the preachers to take upon themselves the administration of the Sacraments, and it was at his suggestion that they cast lots to decide whether they had the power to do so or not. And he further showed his contempt for Wesley's repeated and dying admonitions, by being one of the first to preach during the hours of the Church Service.—("Smith's Hist." ii. p. 288.)

How would you answer the modern Wesleyan assertion, that Wesleyans cannot be said to be chargeable with schism, "because schism means a division IN *a Church, and not separation* FROM *it"?*

I should have thought that if a rent IN a Church were a sin, a rent FROM it was a greater. The original word used in the New Testament by St. Jude, concerning those of whom he speaks so severely, means separatists FROM the Church. St. Cyprian says (epist. 65), "Schisma est, quum *de ecclesiâ* receditur et altare foris collocatur," and St. Jerome thus writes (in Epist. Paul ad Tit. c. iii.) "Schisma ab ecclesiâ separatur."

"If the tearing of the Church asunder by a schism is so tremendous an evil, and so great a sin that, to speak with St. Ignatius and St. Cyprian, the blood we might shed as martyrs would not wash it away; and if it be desirable (as surely it is) that an end should be put to these unhappy disputes, which

waste the time and energies of the Church, and hinder her from doing her proper missionary work of promoting God's glory, and saving souls at home and abroad; if it be true that there are 500 millions of heathens in the world and 100 millions of Mahometans, to say nothing of our own semi-pagan multitudes in our cities, whose conversion would be hastened by our unity, and is retarded by our strife—then, if we are actuated by a truly catholic spirit, we shall submit to the judgment of the constituted authority, although the decision, and the tribunal which pronounces it, may not be altogether to our own liking; and although it may be quite right to take all regular means for revising the one and improving the other; and in so doing we shall be acting in the manner that is most pleasing to the Great Head of the Church, and be best promoting her good, and providing for our own future happiness at the great day of reckoning, when we must all stand before the Divine final court of appeal, and receive our own sentence for everlasting bliss or woe."—(See Bishop of Lincoln's Charge.)

What authority has Stillingfleet's "Irenicum" that Wesleyans appeal to it in favour of their ordination?

It is a juvenile work, which he himself retracted (see Bishop Burnet's "Own Time," i. 189), and all that can be said of it is, that it did not condemn *Presbyterian* orders—WHICH THE WESLEYANS HAVE NOT.

Then you mean to say that the Wesleyans are like merchants using a forged trade-mark?

I mean to say that Wesleyans either hold to John Wesley, or they do not. If they do, they must acknowledge that their own ordinations are invalid, and that the Sacraments ministered by their preachers are irregular. For John Wesley never supposed that persons could ordain who were neither bishops nor priests; but their preachers have not been ordained either by bishops or priests. Now, if they do not hold to John Wesley, *ought they to call themselves Wesleyans?* And, *can they retain those chapels which were built on the condition that they who held them should conform to his opinions? Might not those chapels be claimed by persons, genuine Wesleyans, who cleave to Wesleyanism in that form in which John Wesley established it?*

Mr. Luke H. Wiseman, M.A., Ex-President, in his "Official Charge," August 6, 1873, "*published by request of the Confer-*

ence," states that Wesleyans "affirm that bishop and presbyter are of one and the same order"—What say you to this?

First, that even if they are, this does not alter the stubborn fact that Wesleyan preachers are neither one nor the other. And secondly, that St. Jerome, the great favourite with the upholders of this theory, distinctly says that bishops are the ordained successors of the Apostles; that St. James was Bishop of Jerusalem, immediately after the Ascension of Christ; that Episcopacy is an Apostolic ordinance: that *presbyters cannot ordain;* and that the safety of the Church consists in the dignity of its bishop.—(St. Hieron, "Ep. ad Evag:" Ibid. ad. Marcellam, Ep. 5: Ibid. in Lucif. c. 4: Ibid. in Evagr. lxxxv.)

Mr. Wiseman also asserts that "Hooker, Chillingworth, and others," only contended for Episcopacy because it was in accordance with the custom or ordinance of the realm—How far is this correct?

Hooker, in commenting on a favourite Presbyterian quotation from St. Jerome, says:—"In all this there is no let why *St. Jerome* might not think the authors of Episcopal regiment to have been the very blessed *Apostles* themselves, directed therein by the special motion of the Holy Ghost which the *ancients all before and beside him*, and *himself* also, elsewhere are known to hold."

And again (Pref. iv. 1), "We require you to find out *one* Church *upon the face of the whole earth* that hath not been ordained by episcopal regiment since the time that the blessed Apostles were here conversant." For what Chillingworth says, see "Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy demonstrated in Christian Institutes," iii. 210, 214.

But is it not somewhat surprising that a term (Episkopos), which certainly did not exclude the Second Order in the first age of Christianity, should have afterwards been applied exclusively to the First?

No: there is no more cause for surprise that an overlooker of *pastors* should afterwards be specially called EPISKOPOS when an overlooker of a *flock* had been previously called so, than that Augustus and all his successors in the Roman Empire should be called *Imperatores*, when in the age preceding him, and indeed in his own age, all victorious generals, as Lucullus, Pompey, and Mark Antony, had been called *Imperatores:* or that a large combination of provinces should be called *Diœcesis* by and after the Emperor Constantine, when, before his time, a single province had been termed so. The time has been when a commander

even of a single regiment was called Imperator; and must all such, nowadays, set up to be emperors?

Mr. Wiseman tells us that, "In common with Protestant churches generally (except the Anglican), the call of the people as well as the act of the clergy is held to be essential to the validity of the ministry"—What is your answer to this?

First, I would refer him to the Ordination Service, and to Article xxiii., for the doctrine and practice of the English Church; and then I would say that the unity of national life could not be preserved unless the power of appointing national officers were confined to the one central authority. If any self-willed and self-opinionated knot of men were permitted to form endless small communes, to appoint officers, to decree laws, to collect taxes, independently of, and in hostility to, the central government of the empire, the corporate life of the nation would be broken up in chaotic confusion. And as unity in the Jewish Church was secured by the appointment of one tribe to take authoritative charge of the Ark of the Testimony, and of the Service of the Sanctuary, so the authority of one Apostolical ministry, neither to be crushed by the ecclesiastical Nimrodism of Rome, nor overwhelmed by the anarchy of Schismatical Communism, is the indestructible, divinely-sustained Centre of Unity in the Church. *Romish gilding is not the gold of Catholicity, neither is schismatical communism the communism of Apostolic days*—one is the deadly slavery of Ultramontanism, the other is no less deadly anarchy. The statements in the Preface to the English Ordinal are plain matters of history; and anybody undertaking to act as bishop, presbyter, or deacon, without Episcopal ordination, is simply doing in the Church the same sort of thing as the Council of Trent did in the Bible by declaring Apocryphal books to be canonical. The Wisdom of Solomon is, or seems to be, a much more generally profitable book than Solomon's Song; and doubtless there are men without Episcopal ordination who are in many respects better and more useful than others who have been episcopally ordained; but Episcopal ordination is, nevertheless, like the observance of Sunday, the baptism of infants, and many other things, including the canon of Scripture itself, one of those great Christian institutions which it is the height of presumption for any individual or any local Church to do away with or alter.

But even if we were to grant the validity of Wesleyan orders; even though they should be able to trace by Presbyterian succession a descent from the episcopate of the Church of England,

their present position would still be schismatical, and, therefore, to a Catholic Churchman, untenable. This is a point which John Wesley himself seems to have overlooked. He was very angry with his preachers when they began to administer Sacraments, and so "sought the priesthood:" they were in his opinion "Korahs, Dathans, and Abirams," deserving of the strongest reprobation. But suppose they had all received, as some of them, it is alleged, did receive, Episcopal ordination from an oriental prelate who happened to be in England, would that have freed their priestly functions from all blame? Nay, Mr. Wesley himself was almost as much a Korah as any of his followers; for he presumed to exercise the office of a priest within the dioceses of various bishops without their licence. We do not mean that he went about talking and forming societies: that is no more than a layman may do; but Mr. Wesley took upon himself to administer Sacraments in his unlicensed chapels, thereby breaking down all distinction between Orders and Mission. If all the Methodist preachers to-day were episcopally ordained, nay, if they were all consecrated bishops, their ministry would remain just the schismatical thing which it is now, and questions as to its "validity" would be as unpractical as the mediæval inquiry about how many angels could stand on a needle's point. The Roman schism in England possesses the continuous ministry; and therefore has valid orders, but it is not, therefore, a true Church of God, nor would it be if in other respects it were clear of error. It has no "Mission." Let it then be clearly understood, Wesleyans have neither "Orders" nor "Mission." By setting on foot a succession of "Ministers without descent," the Conference of 1836 deliberately cut the threads which had till then bound Wesleyanism, in some degree, to the historical organisation of Christendom, and placed it, so far as the authority of the ministry is concerned, upon what is practically the same basis as that which is avowed by the Independents, namely, the goodwill of the brethren at large. But the substance came before the form. Those whom Wesley had sent to preach were not slow, even in his own lifetime, to seek the priesthood also. Wesley's original design, as declared over and over again, was not to found a sect distinct *from* the Church; but a society for reviving religion *within* the Church. So, perhaps, Jeroboam's original design was to revive liberty in Israel; that liberty which, as Samuel had foretold, the kings had taken away. We are expressly told that at the outset of his great undertaking Jeroboam was acting in accordance with the will of God:

"*This thing is from Me.*" But he soon came to look upon his original design as secondary to the maintenance and prosperity of his organisation for carrying it into effect. So did the Wesleyans; and it must be admitted that, to a considerable extent, Wesley himself had set them the example; though we may charitably believe that they drifted, half unconsciously, into opposing the Church, rather than that, like Jeroboam, they devised their substitutional worship deliberately and with their eyes open. "THIS *thing*," in Jeroboam's case, "*became a sin.*" It is difficult to see how there can be no sin in the schism of the Wesleyans. It will not do to say that if the Church had done its duty there would have been no Methodism, and consequently no Methodist organisation to be set up instead of the Church. If King Rehoboam had done his duty, Jeroboam would not have been king; and, consequently, he would have been under no temptation to set up his separate services at Bethel and Dan. But notwithstanding the excuse, real and great as it was, we always read that by doing as he did Jeroboam made Israel to sin.

Mr. Wiseman tells us that John Wesley affirmed that he was a scriptural bishop, having the right to ordain—a right which he actually exercised, by ordaining ministers for America and Scotland—What say you to this?

To what has been already said, I would add the following:—In that period of spiritual deadness, when men had forsaken the covenant of the Lord, John Wesley in England, and Daniel Rowlands in Wales, arose as the leading prophets of religious revival, and began to cry in the wilderness and to rouse the masses out of the lethargy of unbelief and indifference. But these great public teachers were members of the Catholic Church. They had no intention whatever of rebelling against the legitimate order and authority of the Church, or of sinning against the eternal unity by creating schism and erecting rival altars. Their earnest desire was to work within the unity of the Church's system, and not to undermine her power, paralyse her influence, and set at nought her orders and authority. John Wesley solemnly warned the lay preachers of his society against falling into the presumptuous sin of daring to parody the holy mysteries by an administration void of apostolical sanction. Nine months before his death he repeated the charge, and earnestly exhorted his fellow-labourers not to fall into the pit of earthliness which swallowed up Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. To the end of his

days he consistently exhorted his followers to continue steadfastly in the apostles' fellowship by attending the public worship of the Church, and by drawing near to partake of the Eucharist in her sanctuaries.

According to his advice, the generation of Methodists that remembered Wesley continued to stand before the presence of the Lord, and shrank from the sin of "turning away from following" Him. Likewise in Wales, the Methodists, as long as the influence of Rowlands survived among them, continued to hold the same faithful attitude, and to avoid schism; and in Ireland there are to this day Methodists who still literally obey their venerable founder's dying wishes in this respect. On his deathbed, Rowlands, in well-known words, prophesied the coming revival of spiritual life within the Church, and exhorted his son to stand firmly within her gates. But in later days, the ambition of the lay preachers of Methodism has tempted them to take to themselves the authority of the priesthood, and to assume functions to which they were never "called of GOD, as was Aaron."

Mr. Wiseman states that the omission of the necessity of Episcopal orders in John Wesley's Deed of Declaration, proves that he did not believe in it, and that therefore it is not binding on Wesleyans —What say you to this?

I answer, first, that I suppose Mr. Wiseman has read the pastoral issued by the Conference who tried the *Lot*—if he has not, he can do so in Mr. Blunt's Dictionary, under the head "Methodism." He has, however, evidently read John Wesley's published sermon ("not in the Standard Series,"—why not?) "in which John Wesley," to quote Mr. Wiseman, "employs strong language on the subject;" and if this is coupled with the fact that for forty years after Wesley's death no ordination was ever attempted, and that other ugly fact of the suppressed portion of John Wesley's epitaph—"the Patron and Friend of LAY PREACHERS," I think it is a self-evident truth that John Wesley in his *Deed of Declaration* only provided for that which he intended only to exist, *i.e.*, LAY PREACHERS. "The omission, therefore," to quote again Mr. Wiseman, "could not have been accidental; for this Deed of Declaration was not hastily prepared." And so the "excellent local preacher" who once said, in Mr. Wiseman's hearing, "that he was as truly called, as the President of the Conference is, to preach the gospel," only spoke the literal truth.

Mr. Wiseman also asserts that there were no priests in the Early Church, except, indeed, in that sense in which St. Peter addresses the entire body of the faithful, as "a royal priesthood"—What answer have you to this?

That it is as true as that there were no "priests" in the days of Moses when he addressed these very words to the Church in the wilderness (Exod. xix. 6). And also as true as that there are no "kings" now, since St. John *addresses all the body of the faithful* as "kings and priests," &c. (Rev. i. 6; v. 10; xx. 6).

"We hold," says Hooker (III. xi. 18), "that GOD'S clergy are a state which *hath been and will be* (as long as there is a Church upon earth) *necessary*, by the plain *Word of* GOD *Himself*, a state whereunto the rest of GOD'S people must be subject, as touching things that appertain to their souls' health."

And again (Hooker, V. lxxvii. 8), "When we take ordination, we also receive the presence of the Holy Ghost. Whether we preach, pray, communicate, condemn, give absolution, or whatever we do, as dispensers of GOD'S mysteries, our words, judgments, acts, and deeds are not ours, but the Holy Ghost's."

Dr. Punshon is reported to have said at Sheffield:—"We have sometimes been taunted, on high sacerdotal theories, with the invalidity of our orders, and have been branded by those whose ignorance may excuse their flippancy as intruders and gainsayers, after the pattern of Korah"—What say you to this assertion?

I think it should be generally known—no doubt Dr. Punshon knows it very well—that it was John Wesley who brought this charge against the preachers of his society who took upon themselves to "baptize or to administer the Lord's Supper." In a sermon preached at Cork, in 1789, he says to them—"Ye never dreamed of this for ten or twenty years after ye began to preach. Ye did not then, '*like Korah, Dathan, and Abiram*, seek the priesthood also.' Ye knew, 'No man taketh this honour unto himself but he that is called of God, as was Aaron.'"—(Vid. sup. p. 9.)

And when pressed by Mr. Hall "to renounce the Church of England," in 1745, he wrote in answer:—"We believe it would not be right for us to administer either baptism or the Lord's Supper unless we had a commission so to do from those bishops whom we apprehend to be in succession from the apostles."

"We believe that the threefold order of ministers is not only authorised by its Apostolical institution, but also by the written Word."

Modern Wesleyans, having severed themselves from all connection

with the Church of England, it is very commonly thought that John Wesley "left the Church." This he never did. He died as he had lived, a clergyman of the Church of England.

Here are his own words.

A.D. 1746. "If any man separate from the Church, he is no longer a member of our society."—"Works," vol. xii. p. 361.

A.D. 1761. "We neither can be better men, nor better Christians, than by continuing members of the Church of England. And not only her doctrines, but many parts of her discipline! I have adhered to at the hazard of my life."—"Works," vol. xvi. p. 44.

A.D. 1765. "You never will by my advice leave the Church: I advise just the contrary; I advise you to lose no opportunity of attending the service of the Church, and receiving the Lord's Supper, and of showing your regard for all her appointments. I advise steadily to adhere to her doctrine in every branch of it."—"Works," vol. xvi. p. 98.

A.D. 1778. "We inserted in the very first rules of our society: 'They that leave the Church leave *us*.'"—"Works," vol. xvi. p. 221.

A.D. 1787. "Tuesday, Jan. 3, I went over to Deptford; but it seemed I was got into the den of lions. Most of the leading men of our society were mad for separating from the Church. I endeavoured to reason with them, but in vain: they had neither sense nor even good manners left. At length, after meeting the whole society, I told them, 'If you are resolved, you may have your service in church hours. But remember, from that time, you will see my face no more.' This struck deep, and from that hour I heard no more of separating from the Church."—"Works," vol. vi. p. 82.

A.D. 1789. "To say 'you will not leave the Church, meaning *thereby all the true believers in England*,' is trifling. I do not mean so when I say, 'I will not leave the Church.' I mean, unless I see more reason for it than I ever yet saw, I will not leave the Church of England as by law established while the breath of God is in my nostrils." [*This was written twenty months before his death.*]—"Works," vol. xvi. p. 357.

What is John Wesley's advice to modern Wesleyans?

"Modern laziness has jumbled together the two distinct offices of preaching and administration of the Sacraments. But be this

as it may, *I will rather lose twenty societies, than separate from the Church.*"—(Letter first printed in the "British Magazine" for September 1834, and written February 21st, 1787, within four years of his death, when he had been preaching sixty-two years!)

In 1790 he thus wrote:—"I never had any design of separating from the Church. I have no such design now. I declare that I live and die a member of the Church of England; and that none who regard my judgment will ever separate from it."—(John Wesley in the "Arminian Magazine," quoted in page 172 of Mr. Urlin's vol. on "John Wesley's Place in Ch. Hist.," London, 1870.)

In the "Code of Directions" drawn up by him, and given to his preachers "as the rules by which we are to walk," and which are described by the Wesleyan Conference, in 1797, as "the rules to which they consented when admitted," are the following instructions:—"How should an assistant be qualified for his charge?—By loving the Church of England, and by resolving not to separate from it. Let this be well observed. I fear when the Methodists leave the Church, GOD will them. Oh, use every means to prevent this."

"1. Exhort all our people to keep close to the Church and Sacrament.

"2. *Warn them* all against niceness in hearing—a prevailing sin.

"3. *Warn them* against despising the prayers of the Church; against calling our society 'a Church.'

"4. Against calling our preachers: '*ministers*;' our houses: 'meeting-houses;' call them plain '*preaching-houses.*'"

These "minutes were delivered to Wesleyan preachers on their admission to the office, and these preachers were then told that they would" be acknowledged as fellow-labourers in the cause so long as they freely consented to these rules, and earnestly endeavoured to walk by them.—("Chronicles of Wesleyan Methodism," i. p. vii. p. 78–80, 88. See also Rev. H. W. Holden's vol. on John Wesley, p. 158, London, 1870, 2d edition.)

And how far is John Wesley obeyed by Wesleyans?

Every one of these "instructions" is now deliberately set at nought.

The preachers do *not* set the example and go to Church.

The people do *not* go constantly and receive the Sacrament at every opportunity.

Niceness in hearing and despising the prayers of the Church do still prevail.

Modern Wesleyans *do* call their society "a Church:"—

"We insist on the strict propriety of calling the Wesleyan connection 'the Methodist Church.'"—"Smith's Hist. Methodism," vol. ii. p. 141.

Modern Wesleyan preachers *are* called "ministers:"—

In 1840 the term "preacher" is dropped by Conference, and "minister" put in its place.

And Wesleyan preaching-houses *are* now called "meeting-houses," and not uncommonly "churches."

Modern Wesleyan preachers everywhere profess to administer the Sacraments, although they make, as indeed they can make, no pretence whatever to the possession of a succession from the apostles.

Modern preachers, therefore, constantly and calmly do what John Wesley declared, and what they must know he declared, to be "a sin;" and yet they call themselves "Wesleyans!"

It is somewhat remarkable that apparently the only doctrine which John Wesley did recant—one that was held by him for a short time in his youth, but which during the last fifty years of his life he never lost an opportunity of protesting against—should be the very one which modern Wesleyans cling to with such tenacity—that of the necessity of ASSURANCE. With modern Wesleyans it is an article of belief that the knowledge or sense of a man's sins being pardoned is in each and every individual case necessary to a justifying faith. This feeling of assurance is called and put in the place of conversion, and a man is "converted," not when he gives up his sins, or turns to God, or finds himself bringing forth *the fruits of faith* as enumerated by St. Paul, but when he *feels* in his heart an *assurance* that his sins are forgiven.—See "Works," vol. xi. pp. 291, 292.

Pages might be filled in reprinting the misrepresentations and abuse heaped by modern Wesleyans on the clergy of the Church of England. It would seem that unless the clergy are prepared to give up all the distinctive teachings of the Book of Common Prayer—the daily service, the weekly celebration, the observance of seasons, fasts, and festivals, regeneration in baptism, and the Church doctrine of the Eucharist—all of which John Wesley himself contended for—unless they are willing to throw overboard Church discipline, in fact to deny their faith and debase themselves to the dead level of modern Wesleyanism, they are to be

spoken of as "wolves in sheep's clothing," as "teaching Romish doctrines while they are eating Protestant bread," as behaving as "Lords over God's heritage," as being "uncharitable," "unscrupulous," and "hypocritical" (*vide* the public prints on this). Whereas, surely, those of the clergy are most faithful to their calling who are the firmest adherents to the Book of Common Prayer, an unfeigned assent to the teachings of which is the very title to their position.

The following assumption (December 1876) of the "Methodist Episcopal Church" in India deserves to be noted :—

"Mr. Parker, 'Superintendent of Methodist Episcopalian Missions for Rohilcund,' has thought it worth while to inquire of Government whether he and his ministering brethren come within the scope of the permission to perform marriages without licenses, given by the Indian Christian Marriage Act of 1872, to persons 'who have received Episcopal ordination.' He argued: 'This cannot refer alone to the Church of England and the Church of Rome; for in Part iv., paragraph 32, "*any person* who has received Episcopal ordination, but who is *not* a clergyman of the Church of England or of the Church of Rome," is referred to. The ordained ministers of the 'Methodist *Episcopal* Church' in India have all received 'Episcopal ordination.' The form of ordination is the same, or nearly the same, as of the Church of England. Our ministers are all under the direction of our bishops. No one but a bishop can ordain to the ministry in our Church. Our own American government accepts our Church as Episcopal.' But the inquiry received the disappointing reply that the "Officiating Advocate-General, having been consulted, has expressed his opinion that it would be unsafe to accept clergymen of the 'Episcopal Methodist Church of America' as coming within the purview of' the section referred to."

Will you briefly sum up all that has been said on modern Wesleyanism?

1. Wesley, throughout his entire life, asserted the Apostolical Succession as running in the episcopate, and during one portion of his life as running in the priesthood also.

2. Wesley never dreamed of the possibility of any man becoming a priest, or consequently having any authority to administer the Eucharist, otherwise than by laying on of hands of bishops or of priests—such a thing he termed "SINFUL," and also "STUPID" and "UNSCRIPTURAL."

3. Wesley sternly forbade any of his preachers to administer the Sacraments, unless they had been so ordained.

4. Two years after Wesley's death, Conference solemnly protested that they had never at any time sanctioned any sort of ordination in England.

5. From whence it follows, that modern Wesleyans were without any kind of ordination or ordained ministers till the year 1836; when the preachers ordained each other bishops and priests. I would, therefore, earnestly recommend every member of a non-episcopal denomination to study Numb. xvi. We are expressly told that whatever befell the Israelites in the wilderness happened to them for examples, and is written for our admonition (1 Cor. x. 11); and if the awful story of Korah and his company was not meant for a warning against Nonconformity, those who think so are bound to tell us what its meaning really is. At any rate, it must be admitted that the parallel is startling. Dissent, political in its origin, but expressing itself by revolt *in sacris*, and founding itself on the priesthood of the whole Christian people—"All the congregation are holy, every one of them" (Numb. xvi. 3)—looks like the very antitype of the gainsaying of Korah; and just as the Israelites afterwards charged Moses and Aaron with killing the people of the Lord (Numb. xvi. 41), so now, if we point out that a non-apostolical ministry is not safe, we are charged with bigotry, narrow-mindedness, and illiberality, as if the gospel were our own property to alter as we pleased, or as a prudent eye to popularity might suggest. I know how hard it is to hint at this matter of Orders to a Nonconformist minister, whose all may depend upon his professional status. But so far at least he might go—if he preaches and exhorts, he need not "seek the priesthood also" (Numb. xvi. 10). I see no reason why Dissenting congregations, retaining everything else of their own, should not resort to their parish churches, with their ministers at their head, for Holy Communion. If this proposal should strike anybody as strange, I reply that it is not only the very thing that John Wesley contemplated, but the only thing that he ever really sanctioned.

CHAPTER IV.

PRESBYTERIANISM.

What is the Presbyterian scheme?

That the presbyters have authority, by Divine right, to ordain equally with, and independently of, the bishop; and may therefore lawfully and validly separate from the bishops, and exercise the power of ordination when occasion requires.

What is the only case in the Old Testament corresponding to this claim?

That of Korah and his company (Numb. xvi.) who, being levites, and invested with a share in the ministry, conceived themselves equal to their superiors, and therefore undertook to perform their offices.

Paraphrase the words of Moses (Numb. xvi. 8–10) *so as to make them directly applicable to our present purpose.*

"Here, I pray you, ye sons of Levi (presbyters), seemeth it but a small thing unto you that the GOD of Israel (SON OF GOD) hath separated you from the congregation of Israel (Christian people), to bring you near to Himself to do the service of the tabernacle of the LORD, and to stand before the congregation to minister unto them? . . . and seek ye the priesthood (episcopate) also?"

But are there no New Testament examples of presbyters setting themselves up as equal with their chief pastors?

There are, for instance, those spoken of (2 Cor. xi. 12) who "transformed themselves into Apostles of CHRIST;" against whom, therefore, the Apostle threatens "sharpness *according to the power which the Lord had given him* (2 Cor. x. 8, xiii. 10); those again, of whom St. Paul speaks in his address to the presbyters at Ephesus, "OF YOUR OWNSELVES SHALL MEN ARISE, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them;" against whom he therefore gives a caution (Acts xx.).

Is there any other instance?

There is Diotrephes, mentioned by St. John in his Third Epistle, who not only in his own person set at nought his chief pastor's authority, "prating against him with malicious words," but pro-

ceeded to turn those out of the Church also who acknowledged it. But as St. John threatened to "remember" Diotrephes' deeds, it is plain he did not approve of such conduct.

Was this a solitary case?

St. Jude uses the plural number when he mentions with reprobation those who "spoke evil of dignities," and "perished in the gainsaying of Korah;" yet even these had not gone so far as to set up separate worship, for he speaks of them as partaking of the feasts of charity (St. Jude, vers. 8, 11, 12).

Have you any other New Testament example?

The very last book of the Bible is occupied on this point of ecclesiastical order: the angel of Ephesus being commended because he had tried some who said they were Apostles, and had "found them liars" (Rev. ii. 2).

But, supposing the Presbyterians deny that these are cases in point, and assert that, while the Apostles had a superiority by Divine appointment, after their death all superiority among pastors was of merely human origin, and might therefore safely be set aside by human authority?

It has been found by experience that they who begin by carping at the authority of bishops, presently proceed further to carp at that of the apostles, and are not always to be deterred from carping at that of our Blessed Lord Himself.

But what are the grounds on which this Presbyterian allegation rests?

I believe it will be found to depend very much upon a dexterous interchange of certain names, which at the first were used in common, but have since, by common usage, been appropriated to distinct offices, such as bishops, apostles, presbyters, deacons. Our Lord Himself is sometimes designated as an Apostle (Heb. iii. 1). Sometimes as a Bishop (1 Pet. ii. 25), sometimes as a Deacon (Rom. xv. 8). The Apostles are not only designated by that title (Luke vi. 13), but their office is called a deaconship (Acts i. 17, 25), and a bishoprick (Acts i. 20), and they themselves frequently styled presbyters (1 Pet. v. 1; 2 John 1.; 3 John 1), and deacons (1 Cor. iii. 5; 2 Cor. iii. 6, vi. 4). Again, the pastors at Ephesus whom St. Paul addresses are called indiscriminately bishops (Acts xx. 28); and the same indiscriminate use of the term is observable in St. Paul's First Epistle to Timothy (1 Tim. iii. 1, 2; v. 17), and in that to Titus (i. 5, 7).

What is the conclusion Presbyterians draw from this?

That as the Apostles are called presbyters, therefore presbyters are equal to the Apostles.

Where lies the fallacy of this argument?

The Apostles are more frequently called deacons than anything else, so, if the argument is worth anything, it would make the deacons equal to them likewise. Nay, as Christ Himself is called a deacon more than once, and never presbyter, their reasoning would go to show that deacons are equal to Jesus Christ, and superior to presbyters. Their argument therefore destroys itself, and sufficiently shows that it is not by the mere application of terms thus indiscriminately used, that anything can be determined as to the fact or kind of subordination in the ministry which is warranted by the Scriptures.

But, in St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, does he not send his salutation to the bishops and deacons only? (Phil. i. 2.)

The prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel uniformly designate the Jewish ministry as priests and levites, with no allusion to any other office. Was there, therefore, no high priesthood among the Jews at that time?

If Presbyterians will stand by this text, and adhere to the letter, it will prove that bishops and deacons are of Divine institution; presbyters not; and prove ordination by a deacon to be safer than by a presbyter, which is hardly the conclusion wished for.

When St. Paul addressed the presbyters at Ephesus (Acts xx.), *whom he also called bishops, would he not also have made mention of any superior had they had one?*

But as he did not make mention of deacons, there were, of course, no deacons. So in Hosea, Joel, Micah, Zephaniah, and Haggai, priests only are mentioned, and neither high priests nor levites; so that if the Presbyterians' arguments from Acts xx. will hold, we shall be bound to conclude that, in the time of the prophets, there was but one order of ministers among the Jews. The argument, therefore, destroys itself. And it may be asked in reply: was it not because, till Timothy's appointment, the Ephesians were under direct apostolic supervision? The fact of St. Paul's strict and authoritative charge to these pastors shows that he himself exercised superiority and authority over them. Nor was he alone in this, but it is plain from that chapter, that he had *with him, at that time, another, even Timothy*, joined therefore, probably, with him in his address, to whom, by comparison of dates,

it appears that he *had already*, during his own absence, *committed the particular superintendence of these very pastors*, as he says in his First Epistle to him : "I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, while I went into Macedonia, *that thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine*" (1 Tim. i. 3). Now it was on St. Paul's return from Macedonia, that, *having Timothy with him*, he gave this Episcopal charge to the pastors at Ephesus, rendered probably necessary on this account, namely, because their own chief pastor, Timothy, was to accompany him on his journey.

But does not St. Paul in his Epistles to Timothy and Titus mention only two classes of ministers—(1) bishops or presbyters, (2) deacons—with no instructions about any other?

True: but equally so that Timothy is vested *with authority over both these classes.* And equally so that while the commission to execute such superintendence runs in the sole name and person of St. Paul, so it is addressed to Timothy in the singular number—"I besought THEE to abide still at Ephesus that THOU mightest charge some," "This charge I commit to THEE, son Timothy;" and that not the slightest intimation is given of either the deacons or the presbyter bishops having any share whatever in the responsibility of the chief pastor's duties. All the instructions are given to Timothy in the *singular number:* "receive THOU," "rebuke THOU," "lay THOU hands," and the like; and afford incontrovertible testimony that both the offices under consideration were quite subordinate to his.

But what do you make of the presbytery (1 Tim. iv. 14) *who are said to have ordained Timothy?*

I understand the College of the Apostles to be intended in this place—St. Peter and St. John frequently designated themselves as presbyters, and so all early commentators understood the passage. Thus, Chrysostom observes, "He does not speak here of presbyters, but of BISHOPS; for presbyters did not ordain a bishop."

Theodoret observes, "In this place he calls those the presbyters *who had received the grace of apostleship.*"

Theophylact, "That is, OF BISHOPS, for presbyters did not ordain a bishop."

Is there, then, anything in the context which shall oblige us to set aside this interpretation as unsound?

So far from it, that in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, the persons whom the Presbyterians would hold competent to ordain a chief pastor over themselves, are not spoken of as competent to

ordain even a deacon. Moreover, in 2 Tim. i. 6, St. Paul ascribes Timothy's ordination to his own act.

But does not this last passage relate to miraculous gifts?

As there is nothing in the context to warrant such a supposition, but the contrary, it cannot be urged. The first passage runs thus, —"Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of hands of the presbytery." The other,—"Stir up the gift of God which is in thee, by the putting on of my hands." I would only further observe that, if we are to resort to accurate criticism of the force of the texts themselves, there is a difference between the prepositions used which deserves to be noted. The preposition in the latter signifies an *instrumental cause*, "*dia*" *through*, "*by means of* the laying on of my hands;" in the former it has not that force, being "*měta*," together with, or "*accompanying* the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." So that even if it could be shown, which it cannot, that by the presbytery were meant merely presbyters, such as we now understand by the term, it would remain that Timothy's ordination was ascribed to St. Paul, as the instrumental cause; and not to the presbytery, except as assisting in the rite.

Have the Presbyterians any precedents in ecclesiastical antiquity to support their scheme?

As far as I am aware only four such precedents have been appealed to by them.

What is the first?

That of the Church of Corinth. St. Clement, Bishop of Rome, the companion of St. Paul, "whose name is in the Book of Life," wrote an Epistle, in the name of the Church of Rome, to the Church of Corinth, on occasion of some disputes which had arisen in the latter. In several places in this Epistle, he bids the Corinthians be subject to their presbyters; in another he says that the Apostles, when they founded Churches, ordained of the first-fruits of their conversions, bishops and deacons.

What conclusions do the Presbyterians draw from the words?

That as there are only two orders mentioned in the latter place and in the former only that of presbyters, it is clear that he acknowledged only two orders of ministers, and that presbyters and bishops were the same thing in his day.

What reply have you to make to this sort of argument?

That the prophets, through many centuries, designated the Jewish

ministers as priests and levites, or priests only, with no mention of high or chief priest; and, as no one ever thought it reasonable to contend that, therefore, in their days there was no high priest, so, neither in this case does it appear reasonable to argue that there was no high or chief presbyter, because St. Clement has not expressly named him in these places.

But does St. Clement nowhere give us his positive testimony, that shows incontestably the unsoundness of this Presbyterian inference from negative testimony?

We find St. Clement expressly ascribing *to Divine appointment, obligatory in his time*, the *triple* order of ministry. These are his words:—"It will behove us (*this is an epistle from a Christian bishop to a Christian Church*), looking into the depths of Divine knowledge, to do all things in order, *whatsoever our Lord has commanded us to do. He has ordained, by His supreme will and authority*, both where and *by what persons* they (the sacred services and oblations) are to be performed. For the CHIEF PRIEST has his proper services: and to the PRIESTS their proper place is appointed; and to the LEVITES appertain their proper ministries; and the layman is confined within the bounds of what is commanded to laymen."—*Clemens Romanus*, Epist. i. c. xxxii. 40.

What is the next precedent cited by the Presbyterians?

That of Alexandria, where it is pretended that, for about two hundred and fifty years after Christ, the presbyters ordained the bishop.

On what supposed testimony does this precedent rest?

Upon the supposed testimony of St. Jerome, who lived one hundred and fifty years, and Eutychius, who lived seven hundred and fifty years, *after the time mentioned.*

What does St. Jerome say?

"At Alexandria, from the evangelist Mark, to Heraclas and Dionysius the bishops, the presbyters always gave the name of bishop, or nominated to be bishop (or styled bishop) one chosen from among themselves, and placed in a higher degree." Presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu "collocatum, episcopum nominabant."

What conclusions do you draw from St. Jerome's words?

The utmost that can be made of this passage by itself is, that the presbyters at Alexandria claimed the appointment of the patriarch, which in other places rested with the bishops of the

province. Just as the monks of Canterbury claimed the right of electing the metropolitan of their province who was also bishop of their see, which the chapter nominally continue to do to this day.

What does St. Jerome really prove on this subject?

By his very next sentence he proves that he did not mean that the presbyters *ordained* the patriarch; for he subjoins, "For what does a bishop do, *except ordination, which a presbyter may not do?*" St. Jerome never said they *made their bishops;* for, as Grotius says (in his "Treatise" de Imper. Summ. Potest., c. 10, s. 3), *choosing or electing is no part of ordination.* For the future, then, let Presbyterians be warned and give up their favourite Jerome, *frankly and for ever.*

Is there no other inference to be drawn from this passage?

It appears that, from the days of St. Mark, the founder of the Church of Alexandria, inclusive, the Church there had always been governed by a single chief pastor, called bishop, of a *higher degree* than presbyters: so that Episcopacy is admitted to be a primitive arrangement.

What does Eutychius, a writer of the tenth century, state?

That "St. Mark instituted twelve presbyters at Alexandria, who, upon the vacancy of the See of Alexandria, did choose of their number one to be head over the rest, and the other eleven did lay their hands upon him, and made him patriarch."

How do you answer this?

That even if we could receive Eutychius' statement without exception, before the Presbyterians could derive any benefit from it, they must show—First, reason to believe that the presbytery here spoken of was not an episcopal or apostolic college, such as we have seen before that all the early commentators understood "the presbytery" (1. Tim. iv. 14) to be. Secondly, they must show that the patriarch thus appointed received no other ordination; and then, when they have done all this, still thus much will remain proved against them by this very story, namely, that ecclesiastical government by a community of presbyters, without a chief presbyter over them, was unknown at Alexandria as well as in the rest of Christendom.

But can you bring no equally competent witness to give positive testimony on this subject?

Severus, a writer of the same age and century, distinctly speaks of bishops and presbyters and laity being all concerned in the

appointment of patriarchs of Alexandria, in the very earliest successions.

But is there any other historical evidence that may be adduced on the point tending most to confirm Eutychius or Severus?

It is certain, first, that all other churches received the canons, called apostolical, which require a bishop to be ordained by two or three bishops, and recognise no other order as qualified to ordain. But in none of their intercourse, whether amicable or hostile, is this point of difference ever urged; which, surely, it would have been, on one side or the other, as a handle of reproach, if it had really existed.

What does the learned Abraham Echellensis show in his "Eutychius Patriarcha Alex. Vindicatus," Rome, 1661?

That from the beginning these very canons were received by the Church of Alexandria itself; so that the Christians there must have violated their own laws, had they done as Presbyterians suppose.

Have you any other evidence to bring forward?

As early as A.D. 300, there were not less than one hundred bishops in the patriarchate of Alexandria, and (which seems decisive of the point) we find a question coming before a council at Alexandria, A.D. 339, concerning one Ischyras, who acted as presbyter, pretending to have received orders from a certain Colluthus. But when it was made plain that Colluthus himself had died a presbyter, the Council decreed that all on whom he had laid hands should be regarded as mere laymen.—*Athanas.*, vol. ii. p. 732.

What, then, are the grounds of the statements of St. Jerome and Eutychius?

Simply some peculiar privileges in the *election* of the patriarchs of Alexandria, which, from several other quarters, we learn that the presbyters of that city possessed.—*Le Quien*, in his "Oriens Christianus, Patr. Alex."

What is the third precedent relied upon by the Presbyterians?

That of the Monastery of Iona or Icolmkill in Scotland.

What writer is quoted as the authority?

The venerable Bede.

What does he say?

Having remarked, in one place, upon the peculiar privileges enjoyed by the head of this monastery, in that he exercised authority over the bishops (Bede, iii. c. 4), he says in another,

that, upon the occasion of the king of Northumberland requesting a bishop of the Scots, the monks of Iona chose Aidan, and made him a bishop.

What is the Presbyterian inference from this?

That Aidan received only Presbyterian ordination, and was, therefore, nothing but a presbyter after all.

But what does Bede himself say?

He says that Aidan *received the degree of episcopacy* (Bede, iii. 5, at the beginning), and he also tells us (ii. 19) the names of five Scottish bishops. In Bk. iii. 22, he also cites the case of Finan, a Scottish bishop, on occasion of ordaining Ceadd to be bishop of the East Saxons, when he called in two other bishops to aid him. And we know, from the Ulster Annals, as cited by Archbishop Usher and others, that there were bishops actually members of the monastery itself. And if this be so, it is not unreasonable to conjecture that the head of that great seminary of the Church was always in Episcopal orders. By what rule of reason, then, are we to suppose that the monks of Iona neglected the proper officers of ordination, *who were all at hand*, and went out of their way to do an important work in an irregular manner?

Even assuming the head of the monastery to have been a presbyter, can you instance any modern examples of bishops subordinated in certain relations to presbyters?

The Dean of Westminster, not so long ago, exercised superiority over the Bishop of Gloucester, one of the prebendaries of that chapter; the Dean of Exeter over his own Diocesan as treasurer of that chapter. The chapter of St. Patrick's, where the Archbishop of Dublin, as prebendary of that cathedral, is, as such, subordinate to the Dean of that Church, is another similar instance. Some thirty years ago the Dean of Durham had under him in his chapter the Bishops of Exeter, Chester, and Bristol; and at this very day the Dean of Canterbury has under him the Bishop Suffragan of Dover as one of his canons, and three colonial bishops, one of them metropolitan of a province, among his honorary canons.

What is the other precedent appealed to by the Presbyterians?

That of the Waldenses, who, whatever they were before the Reformation, are *now* certainly Presbyterians. All their pastors were cut off in the seventeenth century by the plague.—(Leger, p. 206). See also Bates' "College Lectures" on *Eccl. Hist.*, pp. 209, 210.

What do you say to the affirmation that bishops and presbyters are one order?

I have no objection to admit it in the sense that the bishop and his presbyters are so far, and no further, of one and the same order as the high priest and priests of the Jews. Of all the writers most appealed to, as exalting the office of presbyters, no one is so great a favourite with the Presbyterians as St. Jerome, who used language on the subject unknown in the Church until his time. Yet even he not only *denies to presbyters the power of ordination:* not only affirms *that the superiority of bishops over presbyters was established* when men began to say,—"I am of Paul, and I of Apollos," *i.e., in the lifetime of the Apostles;* but, again and again, declares that *what Aaron and his sons were among the Jews, that the bishop and his presbyters were among the Christians.*

But, now, although all the evidences, appealed to by the Presbyterians in support of their position, are found, on investigation, to be nothing worth, yet, for the sake of the argument, though directly contrary to the truth, I will, if they please, for a moment admit their position, and proceed to inquire what practical difference it will make, or how they will be one jot bettered or justified thereby. Let us suppose, then, that when the Apostles left the Church, they left it under two orders of ministers: 1. Those called sometimes presbyters, sometimes bishops, whom, therefore, for brevity's sake, we will call presbyter-bishops; 2. The deacons: the power of ordination and of government resting in the first. That, afterwards, when divisions arose in the Church, the presbyter-bishops, to avoid disputes among themselves, appointed one of their number to a pre-eminency over the rest, and left in his hands the chief exercise of government, and the sole exercise of ordination, giving him the name of bishop.

Now, it must, I think, be admitted that the presbyter-bishops, who were alive when this supposed alteration took place, would retain in themselves the inherent *right* to ordain; and might validly exercise that right if occasion should require. But when these all died off, leaving only the single bishop in the exercise of this function, then, it is clear, that *none could thereafter claim any ministerial authority, except through him, and only such as he gave.* That single bishop would remain in each Church the sole representative of the original (supposed numerous) body of presbyter bishops, and only those persons could claim to be his

equals, or to have authority to ordain, whom he himself should admit to that equality, or invest with that authority. But the presbyters, such as have been understood by that term ever since the Epistles of Ignatius, or the Code of the Ante-Nicene Church, never were ordained by the bishops to be their equals, nor vested by them with this authority to ordain. The rites used at the ordination of a bishop have been in all ages distinct from those employed at the ordination of a presbyter. So, then, while in all ages of the Church since the death of the presbyter-bishops existing when Episcopacy was established, the two orders of ministry, *i.e.*, of presbyter bishops, and of deacons (which this theory supposes to have been apostolically instituted), have been continued and represented by the bishops and deacons; an intermediate order, of merely human origin (according to this theory), will be found existing; namely, presbyters, not ordained to be ordainers. But it is from this last, intermediate, humanly-instituted order, on whom was never conferred at ordination the power to ordain, that Presbyterians of Germany, Denmark, France, Scotland, England, Ireland, North America and the Colonies, derive their pretended orders. The persons on whom Bugenhagen, Calvin, and Wesley laid hands, fancied that power of ordination was conferred upon them by those who, even if the Presbyterian theory were admitted to be true, are shown never to have received such power themselves.

Laying on of hands, as a means of ordination, was not adopted by the Scottish Presbyterians till at least eight years after John Knox's death. Mere election by the congregation was the scheme he introduced, so the fact of his having been a priest himself is no help to his successors, as it is certain he did not even profess to transmit to them his own orders, even if he could have done so.

What do you understand by the term ruling elders?

Dr Crawford defines it to mean "solemnly ordained ecclesiastical persons," but not what St. Cyprian styles "*Ordinationes Clericæ.*"

Does Holy Scripture mention such officers as rulers in the Church of Christ, authorised to minister discipline and govern in His Name?

It does not. The only text which seems to have any force is 1 Tim. v. 17, where we read,—"Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in the word and doctrine." For here there may at first sight appear to be a distinction made between elders that "ruled," and elders

that laboured in the word and doctrine. But in reality is there here any distinction intended between two different orders of elders? Let us see. Why not understand the text thus, "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double remuneration or maintenance, particularly such as *labour* (are most laborious) in the word and doctrine." "The labourer is worthy of his reward." Most honour to the most indefatigable labourer. Accordingly, even Principal Campbell in his "Ecclesiastical History," though himself a zealous champion of Presbyterianism, candidly remarks that the word *especially* "is not intended to indicate a different office, but to distinguish from others those who assiduously apply themselves to the most important as well as the most difficult part of their office, public teaching; that the distinction intended is, therefore, not official but personal—that it does not relate to a difference in the powers conferred, but solely to a difference in their application. It is not to those who *have* the charge, but to those who *labour* in it" (vol. i. p. 178; see also Barnes' Notes).

Rom. xii. 4–8 and 1 Cor. xii. 12–30 are quoted, the first as implying that "he that ruleth" is distinct from "him that teacheth or exhorteth," and in the latter text "governments" are spoken of as a department of Church work distinct from "teachers," in the body of Christ's visible Church. This can surely hardly be regarded as anything else than hypercriticism and mere straining. For, if "he that ruleth" is to be distinguished from "him that teacheth or exhorteth," then both these again must be regarded as distinct from "him that showeth mercy," and "he that showeth mercy," from "him that giveth," and so on—all which shows the manifest absurdity of such reasoning.

The defenders of Presbytery seem to be very far from agreeing among themselves as to the modern invention of ruling elders. "When Calvin's notion was first started," says Bishop Russell, "Archbishop Whitgift yielded the point in debate, and acknowledged that in the Primitive Church they had, in every congregation, certain elders to whom the government of it was committed. 'A gross mistake,' says Bilson, 'into which that learned prelate allowed himself to fall, from not consulting, with sufficient care, the opinions of the ancient commentators.'"—(See "Appendix to Bishop Russell's Sermon on Episcopacy.")

How do you reconcile the 55th Canon with the claims of the Scotch Presbyterian Kirk?

About thirty years ago Lord Lyndhurst gave his opinion before the highest Court of Judicature in the realm about the status

of Scotch Establishmentarians in England and Ireland. It has been argued that, since the Union with Scotland a minister of the form of worship established in Scotland was, in the eye of the law, a person in holy orders in England and Ireland as well. Lord Lyndhurst pointed out that though the law of England recognised the act of a Romish priest as the act of a person in holy orders, yet the act of a Presbyterian minister was in the eye of the same law the act of a layman.

The following is a part of his opinion as reported in the "Jurist" (vol. viii. p. 723, Reg. *v.* Millis, February 23, 1844):—

"A priest in the Roman Church is a priest by Episcopal ordination, and his orders are accounted holy orders by our Church. . . . Holy orders, according to the law of England, are orders conferred by Episcopal ordination: this was the law of the Catholic Church of this country, and the same continued after the Reformation as the law of the Episcopal Reformed Church. . . . Holy orders in England still mean the same thing as they did before the Union with Scotland, and what is required to be done by a minister in holy orders cannot be done by an ordained minister of the Scotch Church."

So Lord Brougham in the same case ("Jurist," vol. vii. p. 926). "Our Church recognises the Roman Catholic ordination in the case of persons who have renounced the errors of Popery, and become members of our National Church, and this on account of the *Apostolic Succession*." Now comes the important question, Is the canon alluded to at variance with the law of the land in this respect?

The words of the canon alluded to are these: "Before all sermons, lectures, and homilies, the preachers and ministers shall move the people to join with them in prayer in this form or to this effect, as briefly as conveniently they may: Ye shall pray for Christ's Holy Catholic Church, that is, for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world," and especially for the Churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.

If this 55th canon recognises the Kirk as a branch of the Church Catholic, the bishops in 1662 were as much bound by it as we are. Yet when they consecrated two men who had only Presbyterian "orders," they first ordained them deacons, then priests, and then, and not before, consecrated them bishops. This, too, was done, though the consecration of bishop has been held to supply all deficiency in previous ordination.

Then as to King James, "Fuller" (Bk. x. p. 18), tells us when-

ever Presbyterianism was hinted at he seemed to lose all patience, and at the Hampton Court Conference when one of the novelists spoke of the bishop's taking counsel with his presbytery, James caught at the expression and uttered some sharp, and not over courteous words—"If you aim at a Scottish Presbytery it agreeth as well with monarchy as GOD and the devil. Then Jack and Tom, and Will and Dick, shall meet together and censure me and my Council." This was before the meeting of Convocation.

There is no ground then, *à priori*, so far as we can see, for supposing that Convocation would be likely to acknowledge a Presbyterian Church as a branch of the Catholic Church on a par with the Church of England or of Ireland, or that such a canon would ever have received the royal sanction even if Convocation had passed it, particularly when James himself informs us: "I for *the space of six years* before my coming into England laboured nothing so much as to depress their parity (*i.e.*, that of Presbyterians) and to re-elect bishops again."

Now let us judge by the acts, so far as we know them, of the same Convocation that drew up and passed the canons.

See canons 3, 6, 7, 8, 30, of 1604.

See also, Cardwell's "Documentary Annals," vol. i. pp. 322, 413.

Ibid, vol. ii. pp. 4, 10.

See also Overall's "Convocation Book," 1690, pp. 191, 193, 194.

What, then, was the real position of the Church of Scotland in 1604? Spottiswood writes, "And now there rested no more than to nominate persons to the bishopricks that were void" ("Hist. of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland," London, 1644, preface, p. iii.). And again, King James contrived to get an Act of Parliament passed "that such pastors and ministers as His Majesty should please to provide to the place, title, and dignity of bishop, abbot, or other prelate at any time should have voice in Parliament as freely as any other ecclesiastical prelate had at any time by-past" (Spottiswood's "Hist. of Scotland," bk. vi. p. 449). By virtue of this power the Archbishop of Glasgow was restored to his See in 1599, and though he died in 1603, yet the fact of his re-appointment to his office, and the appointment of titular bishops, was a clear proof that the mode of Church government was no longer Presbyterian; again, "After an Establishment of only eight years (1592–1600), and after eight years of intolerable agitation, the Presbyterian form of govern-

ment was abolished by the King, with the full consent of an overwhelming majority of the ministers, and the applause of the people whose opinion seems to have been changed by experience of its tyranny" (Stephen's "Hist. of Scotland," quoted by Harrington, "Letter on the 55th Canon," pp. 9, 10).

The Church of Scotland in 1604, therefore, was about as much Presbyterian as the American Church was before the consecration of Bishops Seabury, White, and Provoost.

History, therefore, forbids us to suppose that the Church of Scotland was then as now Presbyterian. For if the Establishment depended on the will of the King, James had declared for Episcopacy; if it be supposed that Parliament was supreme in the matter, Parliament had introduced bishops; if the General Assembly is to have weight, this had restored the Episcopal government; and beyond these points no argument is needed to the reality of Catholic Church government.

Whether Bancroft, the president of the Convocation in which the 55th canon was enacted, and by whom the canons were collected, &c., was likely to collect or sanction a canon recognising the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland as a sister Church, to be "specially prayed for, on the same footing as her Episcopal sisters of England and Ireland," may perhaps seem but little probable to those who will peruse the following extracts from his famous sermon at St. Paul's Cross in 1558: "It is most manifest that there hath been a diverse government from this (Presbyterian) used in the Church ever since the Apostles' times; and these men themselves confess that, long before the Council of Nice, this their government began greatly to decay, and that, since the said Council, it was never heard of in Christendom until these their times. A very strange matter, if it were true, that Christ should erect a form of Government for the ruling of His Church, to continue from His departure out of the world until His coming again, and that the same should never be once thought of or put in practice for the space of 1500 years, or at the least (to take them at the best), that the government and Kingdom of Christ should then be overthrown." Again, "These men murder the Scriptures to serve their own purpose." Again, referring to the Presbyterian argument respecting the identity of office in a bishop and priest, from the identity of names he says (quoting Epiphanius), "It is an assertion '*Stultitiæ plena,' full of folly.*" Whoever reads that sermon will hardly be so credulous as to imagine that the author of that, as well as of the "Survey of the Pretended Holy

Discipline," and "Dangerous Positions; or *Scottish* Genevating, and English Scotticising for Discipline," a man specially recommended to Cecil by Whitgift for the vacant See of London, because "*he was not of the Presbyterial faction*, and had always opposed himself against all sects and innovations;" a man of whom Collier remarks, "that this prelate governed with great vigour, and pressed a strict conformity to the rubrics and canons, *without the least allowance for latitude* and different persuasion;" a man, in short, who, "for silencing or depriving 300 Nonconformists, who were preaching ministers," is roundly taken to task by Calderwood, in his "Altare Damascenum;"—(see also Dr. M'Crie's "Life of Melville," vol. i. pp. 304–309.)—whoever, I say, considers that such a man was the president of the Convocation in which the 55th canon was enacted, and that by him the canons themselves were collected, &c., will at once perceive the folly of imagining that the Church of Scotland mentioned in canon 55, and in the Bidding Prayer, was the veritable Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland. Why, by these very canons every member of the Kirk of Scotland, who held the principles laid down, over and over again, by "Holy Kirk," was, so far as communion with the Church of England is concerned, EXCOMMUNICATED, *ipso facto!* (See Chancellor Harrington's "Letter on the 55th Canon.")

"It does appear," therefore, as Archdeacon Churton has said, "a verbal shuffle and something more (unintentional, of course), to say that the Church of Scotland was then as now Presbyterian;" or to say that Convocation recognised the Scotch Presbyterian Kirk as a true branch of the Catholic Church.

It is certainly not a little remarkable that the doctrine of "Apostolic Succession," which is so strongly repudiated by Presbyterians and other Protestants of various schools and denominations, is equally obnoxious to those Romanists who most strenuously uphold the papal supremacy. The truth is, it is equally opposed to the pretensions of both extremes, and, hence, it is not more unpopular in Edinburgh or Geneva than it is at home. If Dissenters imagine that they are serving the cause of liberality and Protestantism by denouncing what *we* generally understand by the Episcopal Succession, one would like to know what cause Cardinal Bellarmine was serving, when, having laid down the position that all bishops have their jurisdiction not immediately from Christ, but from the Pope, he applies himself to answer objections to that position. The first objection which he meets is, that *bishops are the Apostles' successors; but the Apostles had their*

power immediately from Christ. To this objection, quite as unpalatable to the Cardinal as to the Presbyterian divine, that subtle and practised controversialist replies as follows: "Bishops do not properly succeed the Apostles, since the Apostles were not ordinary, but extraordinary, and as it were special pastors, to whom others could not succeed. Bishops have no portion of true Apostolic authority. Apostles had authority to preach throughout the whole world, and to found churches; this, bishops cannot do. Apostles had the gift of languages and miracles: bishops have not. Apostles had jurisdiction over the whole Church: bishops have not. Besides, properly speaking, one can succeed only another that precedes him. Whereas Apostles and bishops existed at the same time" ("Bellar. De. Rom. Pont." lib. 4. cap. 24). I am not concerned with the soundness of the Cardinal's reasoning; it is enough to point out, in a manner not to be mistaken, the similarity of the Popish and Presbyterian argument, and so conclude by asking every candid reader to say whether the maintainers of "Apostolical Succession" be the parties justly chargeable with Romanism. Romanists place far greater weight upon "visible unity," as understood by themselves, than they do upon the doctrine of the Episcopal Succession. It is, in fact, so far from being indicative of any tendency to Romanism to hold this doctrine, that it is, on the contrary, our great bulwark against Rome's pretensions, and the principal weapon which we are in the habit of wielding against her when she charges our Churches with the sin of schism.

If Apostolic Succession be of men, it is as nothing; if it be of God the gates of hell cannot prevail against it; we *dare* not resign it if we would. It may be assailed by ridicule, scoffed at by infidelity, caricatured by wit, or disregarded by indifference, but it has a vital energy to outlive them all, being borne up and carried along the stream of time by His right hand and holy arm, who said, "*Lo! I am with you alway, even to the end of the world.*"

Modern Presbyterians and sectarians generally do not seem to be aware that the line of argument, which they take up against Episcopacy, is the very same as that taken up by infidels against the Bible. Nowhere in Scripture (they say) is any system *expressly* laid down; therefore every man may adopt his own system.

Now, we do not receive the ancient Church as *authorising* either Scripture or Episcopacy, but if its *evidence* is received for the *fact* of the existence of inspired writings from the Apostolic

times, why is it rejected as to the *fact* of the existence of a certain form of Church government?

If it be said its evidence is conflicting as to Episcopacy, the answer is apparent; it is much more conflicting as to the books of the New Testament. We must have the Bible, and the Bible only, and not only that, but *its real sense*, and its *real sense only*, IN ALL THINGS WHATSOEVER OUR LORD HAS COMMANDED TO BE OBSERVED.

The whole argument for Presbyterianism depends, to a very great extent, as can hardly be doubted by any one who has really studied the controversy, on a "PLAY UPON WORDS."

The question between Episcopacy and Presbytery is not one of mere outward scaffolding or external form, but it involves the unspeakably higher consideration, viz., Who are they whom Christ has commissioned to act in His Name? Who are they that are appointed to stand ministerially before the congregation, and to speak His Word and minister His Sacraments to the people, with such mission and authority that he who receiveth them receiveth Him, and he that rejecteth them rejecteth Him? When this point comes fairly to be understood and acted upon, and not till then, may we expect to realise that unity which all profess to desire. True unity implies unity in the faith, in visible communion with the successors of the Apostles, in the Sacraments, and in the worship and the prayers of the one Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church. (Acts ii. 42.)

Let us at least seek, one and all of us, as brethren redeemed by the same blood, and looking forward to the same heaven, "for the old paths" where is the good way, that God's will may be done on earth, with something of the union and something of the harmony wherewith it is done in heaven; while with one heart, and one soul, and one mouth, we proclaim, "Alleluia, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth." "He that hath an ear, let him hear what," in this our day of divisions, "the Spirit" of unity "saith unto the Churches."

CHAPTER V.

ANABAPTISM; OR, THE SECT OF THOSE VULGARLY CALLED BAPTISTS.

How came this sect into existence?

At the Reformation there were two great streams of schism bursting the barriers of the great river of Christ's Holy Catholic Church,—one *Presbyterianism, i.e.*, the government of a community by presbyters exclusive of the Episcopal office; the other *Congregationalism, i.e.*, the assembling together in congregations, which should be independent of each other. These two classes of religionists agree together in so far as they reject the office and government of bishops; but they differ in that the former maintains the necessity of union with each other in a joint corporate body, with common laws for the regulation of all, while the latter holds that no union is necessary further than in each separate congregation in each separate place. Both these principles seem the offspring of the same mother. The Church and her teaching—the authority of ages, and the traditions of antiquity—are nothing in the eyes of men when once self-conceit and self-sufficiency sway the judgment, and every one relies upon himself.

What is the meaning of the term "Anabaptist"?

The meaning of the term "*Anabaptist*" is this—*one who baptizes a second time.* The sect prefers the name of Baptist on account of the odious and disgraceful history which belongs to the original professors of their creed.* But the very point of distinction and cutting off from the great body of the Church in this sect is, that they baptize *over again.* If one enters into their community already baptized as an infant, they baptize such an one over again, passing by and ignoring the fact of any other baptism than their own. Hence ANA-baptists is the proper word by which they should be distinguished, as marking the essence of their heresy.

* For an account of the fanaticism, horrid profaneness, blasphemy and wickedness of the early Anabaptists, the reader is referred to Mosheim's "Ecclesiastical History."

Give some account of the tenets of the early Anabaptists.

Even the more moderate, and those who did in some degree reject the extreme fanaticism of the multitude, yet put forth the following tenets, which may be taken as a fair exposition of their more deliberate views, strangely mixing, as will be perceived, the political with the religious. They held—

1. That the Church of Christ ought to be free from all sin.
2. That a community of goods and union and equality should be introduced.
3. That all usury, tithes, and tributes should be abolished.
4. That the baptism of infants should be abolished.
5. That all Christians had a right to act as teachers.
6. That the Christian Church had no need of special ministers or teachers.
7. That there was no need, under the reign of Christ, of any civil magistrates.
8. That God made known His will by dreams and visions.

Show what were the logical consequences of these views.

It would of course follow that persons embracing such tenets as these, and filled with religious excitement by unscrupulous leaders, would soon be guilty of violence and lawlessness in their propagation. The Munster Anabaptists, in particular, seem to have lost the entire control of themselves—their excesses, if truth were not stronger than fiction, are simply incredible. It was at the time, and in the midst of the most wild and horrible fanaticism of these Munster Anabaptists, that Meno Simonis of Friesland, a priest of the Roman Catholic Church, joined the ranks of the Anabaptists. From the lead that he took in their affairs, from his great powers of mind, and the success with which he extricated them from the horrid delusions under which they were labouring, from his intrinsic and real integrity, his mild, accommodating, and laborious life, accompanied with a patient and ardent piety, they obtained the name of Menonites.

Give a more detailed account of Meno.

Meno was born in the year 1505. For some time he joined the Anabaptists in secret, but in the year 1536 openly quitted his office as a Roman priest, and listening to the entreaties of many of the sober sort who had taken no part in the disturbances at Munster, placed himself at their head. From this period for about twenty-five years he travelled with his wife and children amidst perpetual sufferings, through many countries, propagating and

advancing the religious tenets of Anabaptism, but gradually softening down those more extravagant and wilder political notions which had been their destruction at the commencement. That, however, which was the essential feature of the sect, he retained—namely, the impossibility of infant baptism, and the necessity of *re*-baptizing, as adults, the candidates for admission into their community. By excluding the original fanaticism of his followers, and by rejecting all opinions in politics injurious to the State, while at the same time he cultivated and enforced sound morality of life, the original evils of the sect gradually died away and were lost. The name of Meno long remained among them, for in good truth, as they exist at present, he was their founder.

Has the sect continued true to its original principles?

No. The very essence of all sectarianism is division. Once part from the common stock on a principle of private judgment, and there can be no solid ground for retention of unity, even in the most minute portion of the thing divided. So with the history of Anabaptism. About the middle of the sixteenth century the Anabaptists, or Menonites, fell into a dispute concerning excommunication; and now, strangely diverging from their original licence, they set forth in the other extreme, the most rigid, austere, and self-denying life, even beyond the usual power of man. Persons refusing this doctrine, or failing in its practice, were excommunicated, and it was ruled that persons so excommunicated should be debarred from all social intercourse, even with husbands, wives, brothers, children, and all other relations of family life. To some of the most austere this severity of discipline was acceptable, while to others it was intolerable. Hence, even in the lifetime of Meno himself, there arose two kinds of Anabaptists, distinguished by the names of "The Fine" and "The Gross;" *i.e.*, the more rigid, and the more lax. The "Fine" Anabapists retained a considerable portion of the ancient fanaticism, which was no doubt the secret source of their opinions; while the "Gross" fell into the usual and ordinary kind of Protestants.

The "Gross" being inhabitants of Waterland (N. Holland), took the name of *Waterlanders*, while the "Fine," for a similar reason, were called *Flandrians*. Among the Flandrians another subdivision soon arose, respecting the kind and degree of excommunication, and these were called *Frieslanders*. To these were added a new sect called *Germans*.

Thus interminable is the produce of schism once begun; and

thus strange are the wanderings of the human mind when, leaning on itself, it leaves the path of God and His Church.

Give the later history of Anabaptism in England.

Under Edward VI., the penal laws against heresy were in a great degree repealed, and the Anabaptists flocked into England from Germany in great numbers. Bishop Burnet says that at that time they became very numerous, and openly preached this doctrine that "Children are Christ's without water" (St. Luke xviii. 16).

In Queen Mary's time the laws against heresy were again enforced, and Anabaptism was decried, and even Queen Elizabeth, though she promised liberty of conscience, was most bitter in her opposition. She made a proclamation to suppress Anabaptism, and commanded the Anabaptists to depart out of the kingdom within twenty-one days.

King James tried the same policy, proclaiming and expelling; but the thing lived on, without any particular mark of publicity, until the time of one Edward Wrightman, who suffered death for maintaining the doctrine of Anabaptism in the year 1611.

The first congregation of Anabaptists was formed by one Mr. Smith, a clergyman of the Church of England, in the year 1607. He opened a place for public worship in London. Many others quickly followed throughout England and Wales, and the sect rapidly increased with the increasing liberty given to the profession of every creed, and the removal of penal liabilities. The Anabaptists of England had always been conspicuous as defenders of religious freedom and of private judgment, but they are by no means to be confounded in the remotest possible way (the sole exception is their *origin*) with the fanatical tribes of the German Anabaptists.

How are Anabaptists now classed?

They are divided into two principal classes, calling themselves by the name of—

1. The Particular, and
2. The General Baptists.

1. The Particular Baptists (Anabaptists) hold the views of Calvin on the subject of election and grace.

2. The General Baptists (Anabaptists) maintain the doctrine of Universal Redemption; but these are subdivided again into *Old Connection* (Unitarians) and *New Connection* (Trinitarians).

There is another point of division also in regard to communion in the Lord's Supper. Each congregation or society assembling together stands by itself, and is called a Church. Some of these "Churches" do not allow persons who have not received baptism, according to *their* views of it, to join with them in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Others, however, do not scruple to meet together at the Lord's Supper, and put aside so strict and so bigoted an exclusiveness; they will admit all—even those who do not hold the strict views of adult baptism which they themselves do; they will communicate with all, without narrowing the terms of Christian fellowship. This principle is now making rapid progress throughout the whole sect. They display great energy and activity in the maintenance and propagation of their peculiar tenets. In 1812 they formed what was called a "*Baptist Union.*" They have a "*Baptist Building Fund*," and sustain many missions in all parts of the world. They have their colleges and schools in different parts of England, and certainly act as if they believed their creed.

On what points is Anabaptism heretical?

The heresy of the Anabaptists is deduced from two main principles in which they deviate from the Catholic faith, and may be classed under the following heads :—

1. The *subjects* of baptism, *i.e.*, the persons who are thought fit to be baptized.

2. The *mode* of baptism, *i.e.*, the peculiar manner in which it is thought requisite to perform that holy rite.

The *subjects* of baptism. The Church throughout all the world, directly from the time of the Apostles down to the commencement of the sixteenth century, both as to time and place, received and practised the Sacrament of holy baptism without regard of age. There might have been differences of opinion as to the number of days that should elapse between birth and baptism; as, for instance, the Copts in Africa did not baptize their children, generally, until forty days old; and the Abassens, as also the Maronites in Asia, did not baptize their male children till forty days old, nor their females till eighty days old. Such differences as these might have existed, but there was never anything in the Church more universal and of less doubt than that every child, as a child, if born of Christian parents, should be brought unto Christ for holy baptism.

How then did the thought enter into the hearts of such men as Meno to set up a different doctrine, actuated, as they most undoubtedly were, by a sincere desire for the truth, and resting their opinions to the best of their knowledge on the Word of God?

Let them give their own answer. Their argument is simple enough: and as long as we look merely on the superficial words, it is not to be wondered at that common persons should be caught by them, and once forgetting that the voice of the Church has any weight, and denying the importance of universal practice, it is very easy to see how the sect of Anabaptists has, on these grounds, multiplied and extended. The modern writers in defence of their heresy of Anabaptism, "insist on the absolutely personal nature of true religion, which in none of its acts can be done by proxy. They say that those who are unconscious, as infants, of what is done, cannot be members of the Christian Church, or competent to embrace its institutions: that, in fact, the concurrence of the sanctified mind is the essential element of all Christian obedience." Thus, then, after setting forth their idea, that *in itself* it would be unreasonable to think that any person could enter into the covenant of baptism if unconscious of its responsibility, and thereby excluding infants, they do not rest content with that abstract statement, but fortify their opinion by appeals to Holy Scripture. They urge as their basis of proof that our blessed Lord set forth the institution of baptism in such words as would infer that He could not mean infants to be baptized. It is thus in St. Matthew's Gospel (xxviii. 19)—"Go ye, therefore, and *teach* all nations, baptizing them," &c.—Wherein they say, that by the very fact of our Lord's command, "Go ye, and *teach*," it is presumed that the persons to be baptized were *capable of being taught*—certainly, therefore, not children: and then they follow up this command of our Lord by the evident, and, as they say, universal fact, that none are ever mentioned as admitted to baptism unless they were so taught, or in some way manifested fruits of teaching in open and personal profession of faith. As, for instance, St. Matt. iii. 6, xxviii. 19; St. Mark xvi. 15, 16; Acts. ii. 41, 42, 47, viii. 12, 35, 39, ix. 17, 18, x. 44, xvi. 14, 15, 32, 34, 40, xviii. 8, xix. 5; 1 Cor. 1, 16, xvi. 15.

Now, at the very first outset, the text upon which the main strength of the Anabaptists depends, at once falls to the ground when we look to the original language of St. Matthew's Gospel. Look at the text again—St. Matt. xxviii. 19. The word which

is translated *teach* in the first part of the text, is quite a different word from that which is translated *teaching* in the latter part. The first word means "*make disciples of;*" or, more closely still, "*enter their name as a scholar;*" whereas, the second word is more properly "*teach,*" or "instruct." Now, though it might be perfectly true that if we are to *teach* the faith to any person before he is baptized—infants by that rule would be excluded, yet, if the command of our Lord is merely "*enter their names as scholars,*" there is no reason why infants' names, as well as others, might not be enrolled. The difference is this. The Anabaptists say—"You must by our Lord's direction *teach* the faith to all persons *before* they are baptized." But the Church says—"You must *enrol their names as disciples,* and do so by baptizing them; and having once so baptized them, you must then '*teach* them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.'" These two statements, it will be readily seen, are very different things.

Then, with regard to the words connected with the baptism of St. John,—namely, that they came "*confessing their sins,*" and therefore, as they argue, must have been adults. That citation is nothing to the point; for we are not speaking of "John's baptism," which was confessedly the baptism of repentance, but of that which was specially distinguished from it—namely, the baptism of JESUS—which was not commanded as a Christian institution until the final departure of our Lord in His ascension.

But is it certain that even St. John the Baptist never baptized children?

There is, indeed, no express mention that he did so, but as it was according to Jewish custom to baptize children, it is a moral certainty that he *did* baptize children. The expression "*confessing their sins*" has nothing to do with the matter; for if "multitudes" came, as we are told, "confessing their sins," and if it was the custom for the Jews to baptize children, then it would be inferred that among the multitudes, according to custom, would be found children—children coming with their parents—not mentioned as children, because coming as a matter of course.

Then with regard to the instances cited from the Acts of the Apostles—it is perfectly true that all these instances indicate a mature and responsible age in the persons baptized; but that must have been of necessity the case from the very nature of the thing; for we must remember how it was. The Apostles, even

as our blessed Lord Himself, were of the Jewish nation. To the Jewish nation they were, in the first instance, sent specially to preach. It was to grown-up persons, clearly, as in the ordinance of preaching it must be, that the Apostles spoke. It was grown-up persons that listened, grown-up persons that were converted, grown-up persons, therefore, naturally *at first* that were baptized. And, moreover, we must consider the object of the writer of the Acts of the Apostles in giving those instances. It was not his object to speak of baptism, but of conversion to the faith. He selects the more eminent of the instances of conversion, such as the eunuch, Cornelius, the jailor at Philippi, St. Paul, Lydia, and so forth. These are brought forward to show, not how baptism was practised, but how the Gospel was spreading. Baptism is only introduced as a secondary or incidental matter—*as a fact*—and not as the main object of the writer, to give rules concerning it.

Then, moreover, let us deal fairly by those very passages. Look at the case of Lydia,—"*her household*" was baptized. And of the jailor,—"He, and *all his house*" were baptized;—so, too, the *household* of Stephanas—they were *all* baptized by St. Paul; it is unreasonable to doubt that children of every age were included therein.

But, can, or ought persons to enter into covenant with God, although they be in themselves incapable at the time of understanding the nature of the covenant?

If the answer is *No*, there is an end of the matter, and the deniers of infant baptism are in the right. But is it so?

It is universally acknowledged that circumcision was a covenant of God, instituted as the way of admission into the Jewish Church. If, therefore, in the first dispensation, children could enter into covenant with God, why not in the second? The principle must in both cases be the same: and therefore to say that it is impossible for children, as such, to be partakers of a Divine covenant, is simply to contradict the words of Almighty God.

But have we a right to identify baptism with circumcision?

We have St. Paul's authority for comparing the one with the other; for in the Epistle to the Colossians ii. 11, he calls baptism "*the circumcision made without hands.*" He illustrates the one by the other. Both were Divine institutions, and appointed with the same intent and object: *i.e.*, the reception of the human race

within the pale of salvation. Now, if Abraham had argued with the Anabaptist,—What can a child of eight days old know about a covenant? what had become of the promised blessing of the nations? This single point, then, settles at once the question, not only as to the possibility, but the propriety of entering into God's covenant, although a person should be, by reason of age, unconscious of the blessing to be imparted.

But was circumcision the only initiatory ceremony among the Jews?

Although we have no direct scriptural evidence of this, it appears certain that the Jews, from an early period in their history, were accustomed to admit proselytes to covenant relation by baptism as well as by circumcision.*

The rule, as given to us by Selden, was this—"Any male child of a proselyte to be baptized, that was under the age of thirteen years and a day, and females that were under twelve years and a day, were baptized as infants, at the request and by the assent of the father, or the authority of the court, because such an one was not yet the son of assent, as they phrase it; *i.e.*, not capable of giving assent, *but the thing is for his good.* If they were above that age they assented for themselves." It is this custom of the Jewish people which throws light upon the command of our blessed Lord when He institutes *Christian* baptism. We must remember that the whole principle of our blessed Lord's coming was not to "destroy the law, but to fulfil it," and just as the Jewish custom was to make proselytes by baptizing them in families, fathers and children together,—none excluded—so now He says to His Apostles (upon whom He was about to build His own Church) in regard to His own people, "Go ye, and make proselytes of men of all nations, baptizing them," &c., as though He had said, Do the same thing, and in the same manner as hath been hitherto accustomed to be done by our law—only, instead of, as heretofore, for the law, do it for ME—"In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

It only needs this key to the whole system of our Lord's teaching, to enable us at once, without any doubt, to receive infant baptism, even out of Holy Scripture itself, as the right doctrine of the Catholic faith. (See Dr. Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. on* Matt. iii.; *compare also the following*—"If any one become a proselyte, he

* See this question fully discussed in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, s.v. Baptism.

is like a child new born" (Gemara). "The Gentile that is made a proselyte, and the slave that is made free, behold he is like a child new born" (Maimonides): with St. John iii. 1-11; 2 Cor. v. 17; 1. Pet. i 3; Titus iii. 8). Thus it came to pass that all writers on Christianity, both Apostles and Evangelists, and those succeeding close after them, invariably use "baptism" and "regeneration," the "baptized" and the "regenerate," as convertible terms. And thus our Lord (John iii. 10) is surprised at Nicodemus not at once understanding that the second birth is the *baptismal* birth.

But, after all, any arguments which we may build up by our own sagacity as deductions from Holy Scripture, must sink into insignificance when compared with positive matters of fact. We are now not to speak of doctrine, of reasons, or of surmises, but of facts; not whether in our own eyes it is good or bad, proper or improper to baptize infants, but whether, in point of fact, it was done by the early Church. *The question is—*

Is it a fact that infants were baptized in the Apostolic ages, and the ages of the Church immediately succeeding?

To answer this we must ask how did the Apostles receive and act upon the command, "Go ye, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing," &c.? Is there any instance on record of any limit of age—of any child or infant rejected, when presented for baptism? None. But that is not enough. We are not content with absence of proof that children were rejected; we want to ascertain whether they were received. In proof of this we cite *Justin Martyr*, who lived a very few years after the Apostles, and who says of himself, that he was a disciple of the Apostles. He says.—"Several persons among us of sixty and seventy years old, *who were made disciples to Christ from their childhood*, do still continue uncorrupt."—("Apol." i.)

Now persons that were seventy years old when St. Justin wrote, must have been children in the times of the Apostles. We have testimony then, here direct and immediate, that in the Apostles' time children were baptized.

St. Irenæus (A.D. 170), a disciple of St. John, speaks of "*infants and little ones, children and youths and older persons.*"—("Adv. Hæres." lib. ii. c. 39.)

St. Clement of Alexandria (A.D. 200), speaks of *children taken out of the water.*"—("Pædagog." lib. iii. c. 11.)

Tertullian (A.D. 200) wrote a special treatise upon baptism,

and speaks of "little children" being baptized.—("De Baptismo" c. 39, 40.)

Origen (A.D. 230) writes, "Infants are baptized for the forgiveness of sins," &c.—("Hom. in Lucanm." 14; ep. ad Rom. v. 9.)

Origen distinctly states "that the Church had, *from the Apostles*, a tradition to give baptism even to infants."

St. Cyprian (A.D. 250), in a council of sixty-six bishops, decides that every infant, immediately at birth, might be a recipient of baptism.—("Epistol." 64, ad Fidum.)

St. Gregory Nazianzen (A.D. 360) asks, "Hast thou an infant child. . . . let him be sanctified from infancy, let him be dedicated from his cradle to the Holy Spirit."—("Oratio de Baptismo.")

St. Chrysostom (A.D. 398) compares circumcision with baptism, and says, "For this cause we baptize infants also."—("Hom. in Gen. 40; Hom. ad Bapt.")

St. Augustine (A.D. 395) writes, "Men are wont to ask this question also—What good the Sacrament of Christ's baptism does to infants—whereas, after they have received it, they often die before they are able to understand anything about it? As to which matter, it is piously and truly believed that the faith of those by whom the child is offered to be consecrated, profits the child."—("De Libero Arbitrio," lib. iii. c. 23; "De Baptismo Contra Donatistas." See also "St. August. ep. ad Bonifacium," xxxiii. s. 98.)

The Council of Milevi (A.D. 416), at which sixty-two bishops were present, ruled (Canon II.); "Therefore, little children, who have not by possibility themselves committed sin, are rightly baptized for the remission of sins, in order that that which they have contracted by generation, may be washed away by regeneration."

What conclusion may be drawn from these data?

We have traced this undoubted Catholic practice from the very Apostles downwards. For four hundred years, without deviation, we find as occasion calls for it, the various writers of the Church alluding to it, setting it forth, defending it, explaining it: so that, as to the FACT that infant baptism was a practice of the Church of Apostolical authority, there can be no doubt whatever. Whosoever says now that infants are not proper subjects of baptism, must acknowledge that he is alike against Catholic usage, and the authority of the Scriptures and of the Apostles, who, by their acts as well as writings, interpreted these Scriptures. The only question,

therefore, is, Whether the denial of infant baptism is a novelty? If a novelty, then it must be untenable; for anything in religion that is a novelty is, *ipso facto*, wrong.

But now comes the question, How *are such persons to be baptized? This is what we called at the outset, the* mode *of baptism, i.e., in what way, with what words, and with what ceremonies, ought this holy Sacrament to be administered?*

In the consideration of the "*mode*" of administering a sacrament, there are two things to be set forth. One, the *matter* of the Sacrament, the other its *form*. Two things are alone so necessary; that is to say, the matter,—which is water,—commanded by our Lord; and the form, which is the pronouncing of the words of our Lord, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." If either of these parts are omitted, or varied, then baptism is not performed: but these two simple things being present, baptism is valid.

But are the Anabaptists in error in either of these respects?

No. The *matter* of baptism, which is *water*, is allowed by them and used by them; and the *form*, which is the "Name of the Holy Trinity," is also allowed by them, and used by them. Wherein, then, consists their heresy? They assert that it is absolutely necessary, to a valid baptism, that the whole body of the baptized person should be immersed and plunged under the water, that pouring water over the person, as the Church permits, is not valid baptism. This is the only point at issue, in regard of the *mode* of their administering it.

Are they wrong in thus administering baptism?

No. We at once admit that, beyond question, both in the descriptions given in Holy Scripture, and in the figurative arguments of doctrine derived from it by St. Paul and others, as well, also, in the custom of the Primitive Church, the primary and ordinary way of baptizing was by immersing the whole body.

Has the Church ever said that baptism by immersion is not right? Has she refused it, or thrown any hindrance in the way of it, to any person who may wish it?

Quite the contrary. Baptism by immersion is the doctrine and desired practice of the Catholic Church: and specially of the Church of England. This may easily be shown. When churches came into use, and Christians ceased to worship in upper rooms—then along with the churches came, as a necessary part of them,

a *baptistery*—a building outside of the church, which had within it a large cistern or pond, large enough for several persons to go down into the water together. It was divided into two portions —one for the men, the other for the women. Bingham tells us that the "Aula Baptismatis"—the hall of baptism—was so capacious that we sometimes read of Councils meeting and sitting therein (lib. viii. c. 7, s. 2).

In the ancient Prayer Book, which is called "The Use of Salisbury," a book in use just before the Reformation, we find directions for baptism by immersion. So also in the first Prayer Book which the English Church set forth as peculiarly her own, "The first Book of Edward VI." we find similar directions, and if we refer to the Prayer Book now in use, we still find the same.

How does the case stand then?

Any priest of the Church to this day would be compelled to immerse every person he baptizes, if such persons coming for baptism so desired it. Nay, he is bound strictly speaking to do so on all occasions, *unless the parents certify that the child is weak.*

Wherein, then, do the Anabaptists raise their cry of objection to the Church, and separate from her?

They raise it upon this ground, that it is not lawful *in* ANY *case* to baptize otherwise than by immersion. The Anabaptists say all persons ought to be immersed. The Church says the same; but the Church goes on to say, that in case of children being weak, it shall suffice to pour water. No, rejoin the Anabaptists; it does *not* suffice. Both agree upon the principle. But the one separates from the other on the ground of permitting a certain exception. The whole question then narrows itself into this: Is it permissible to baptize by pouring water, or does such an act invalidate baptism altogether? In other words, Is it as much the essence of the baptism, that it should be performed by immersion in the water, as it is that water should be used at all? Let us argue this question.

First, How were those three thousand souls baptized on the first day of Pentecost? (*Acts ii.* 41.)

Hardly by immersion: most probably by aspersion. Ezekiel says, "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean" (xxxvi. 25).

Again, How was the jailor at Philippi baptized?

It was in the night; it was sudden; the whole household was

baptized, and that "*straightway.*" They could not have gone down to the river; was it likely they were prepared with a bath or font for such an unexpected purpose in a common jail? Would the Anabaptists have the hardihood to say that, because, suppose from haste, in a case of sickness, approaching death, want of quantity of water, weakliness of body, want of proper place, and the like, it were impossible to baptize by immersion, baptism could not take place by affusion, and that a man should be left to die unbaptized?

Eusebius relates how Basilides was baptized in prison, a case similar to that of the jailor at Philippi. In the account of the martyrdom of St. Laurence, we find that one of the soldiers who was to be his executioner came up to the martyr with a pitcher of water requesting to be baptized. In the Gallican Church we have many canons in which the baptism of immersion and that of affusion, or pouring, is spoken of indifferently. Gennadius, of Marseilles, speaks of both as equally good. St. Cyprian says, "In the Sacraments of salvation, where necessity compels, the shortest ways of transacting divine matters do, by God's gracious dispensation, confer the whole benefit." In the reign of Henry V., Lyndewode, who wrote upon the English Constitution, recommends *dipping*, but he adds: "This is not to be accounted of as the essence of baptism, but it may be given also by pouring, or sprinkling. And this holds especially where the custom of the Church allows it."

The primitive practice of immersion, then, being conceded, and the permission of the Church being the only thing pretended (which being only a permission, is lawful, inasmuch as it does not violate the essence of the Sacrament), why should the Anabaptists, if this were all, have caused their miserable schism? They say that we must baptize in water of such a quantity as to cover the whole body. Because, forsooth, the word used by our Lord, *baptizo*, has that signification. So it has; but it also has the signification of washing, common washing by pouring of water, as we see the same word used by our Lord on several occasions. The argument, then, for immersion, derived from the critical use of the word *baptizo*, is evidently, on the face of it, ridiculous.

But does not the Anabaptist argument prove too much?

They strengthen their position from the fact of our Lord being baptized in the river Jordan. This being the case, they say all persons ought to imitate Him, and be baptized by submersion;

but they ought to go further, and say all persons ought to be baptized in a *river*. The Anabaptists have a schism among themselves on this very head. Some are River Baptists, and others are contented with a pool of water in their meeting-house. To be consistent, it must be confessed that the River Baptists are the more correct.

Sum up the controversy with the Anabaptists.

To the Anabaptist we say,—We are aware that the grounds of the practice you maintain are conscientious, and that your baptism by immersion is according to the Catholic custom; that, in this matter of fact, you are better Catholics than we are, for we have lost and omitted the custom *as a custom*. But still there is on this point no need of your schism; your error consists in making that an *essential* which has never so been made by the Church, by our Lord, nor by the Apostles. There is nothing that you can desire on the points of your schism that the Church of England does not concede you. To baptize you according to the primitive practice, the Church of England is, by her title-deeds, bound to be at all times ready. (See Bennett's "Church's Broken Unity," also Curteis' "Bampton Lectures," 1871.)

CHAPTER VI.

PLYMOUTH BRETHRENISM.

To what extent, and in what directions, is the influence of the Plymouth Brethren felt?

THE influence of this religious movement has not been widely or extensively felt in the world at large: it has been brought to bear exclusively on Protestant and Evangelical denominations; and among these, not on the careless, ignorant, or unawakened, but on the pious, the earnest, the Bible-reading and working Christians, the very "flower of the flock;" and the change that we speak of, in the majority of instances, has put a stop practically to Christian activity, or tends at least to confine it to so narrow a limit that it is virtually extinguished.

Show this from the expressed opinions of eminent religious leaders.

The late Dr. Judson, the eminent Baptist missionary in Burmah, and one in nowise likely to make assertions without well weighing them, wrote some words of the Plymouth Brethren which, as coming from such a quarter, are peculiarly worthy of consideration.

"They have got hold of ——, and have utterly ruined him; that is, his usefulness in this world. When the arch-enemy of souls finds a Christian so weaned from the world as to be inaccessible to all the grosser modes of temptation, he first dons this sheep's clothing of Plymouthism, and, in despair of getting this particular soul, puts a veto on the man's usefulness, to the serious detriment of hundreds and thousands of others."

The late Daniel Wilson, Metropolitan of India, in a Charge delivered in 1842, says (pp. 25, 26): "Of the different forms in which this Apostolical Order is opposed in the present day in India, I need not speak. I know not that any particular contro-

versy exists, except in one instance, upon which, as being new, I may be expected to deliver an opinion.

"Upon the pretences, then, of those who are termed the 'Plymouth Brethren,' I cannot conceal my judgment that they manifest the most deplorable ignorance, conceit, and presumption. They overturn at once all order, all churches, all sacraments, all means of grace, the very perpetuity of the Moral Law itself. This wildness is of the same character with that of Carlostadt at the period of the Reformation, and of some of the English sects at the time of Cromwell. Under the name of the Spirit, they deify Self. Claiming the Bible as their only rule, they substitute their ignorant perversions of its meaning. Pretending to forsake the spirit of the world, they neglect the obvious means appointed by the mercy of God for the salvation of mankind. Affecting an equality of rank, they prepare for the enormous evils of social anarchy. Calling themselves Brethren, they condemn and depreciate the holiest characters if not following with them. . . . Man, being as he is, must have a church, and Christianity without order and authority is a dream, an enthusiasm, a desolation." And multitudes of Christian workers, who have seen fair fields of labour ruined by the effects of this movement, can bear witness to the truth of the declarations of these venerable missionaries.

Sketch the circumstances which led to the rise and progress of this singular body.

It owes its origin to the same great wave of religious thought and feeling as, under happier circumstances, led to the revival of spiritual life in the Church of England. It seems that some five and forty years ago, little knots of pious persons of various denominations began to hold meetings for the purpose of mutual edification; and that one of these, a Mr. Groves, proposed a private celebration of the Lord's Supper every Sunday. The movement appears to have begun in Dublin, Bristol, and Plymouth, but the last of these places gradually established itself as its headquarters, and at length gave it the name it now commonly bears. Little by little it shared the fate of all such attempts at "Evangelical alliance," and instead of casting out the evil spirit of schism, it has added one more to the long list of denominations. In fact, no religious body has ever yet produced the sectarian spirit in a more concentrated or malignant form. Mr. Groves, who may be said to have been its founder, felt compelled, after his return from Bagdad a few years later, to express his uneasi-

ness; and in 1845 a Mr. Newton ventured upon even more energetic remonstrance. Upon this the "Brethren," who had for ten years been circulating a tract of his against certain tenets of the Irvingites, scented out two or three unguarded expressions in it, and denounced him as a heretic. Mr. Newton at once repudiated the doctrines attributed to him, and withdrew his pamphlet from circulation; but his assailants, led by a Mr. Darby, set up separate "table," and demanded that the "Brethren" should "judge the heresy," by excommunicating every one that sympathised with Mr. Newton. Among those who demurred to this language was Mr. Müller, whose orphanage and other labours of love are now widely known and valued throughout the Christian world; nevertheless, he and his colleague, Mr. Craik, were branded as "the Bristol Blasphemers!" In the emphatic words of Mr. Groves:—"Out of theories implying the greatest spirituality and heavenly-mindedness has been developed a system wherein the worst vices of human nature,—those defiling things that proceed from the heart of man,—are brought into exercise and sanctified in being made the foundation of union and communion at the Supper of the Lord,—a system that falsely charges godly men with blasphemy, and then makes the acceptance of such charges a ground of Christian fellowship."

Has the sect made progress in the face of such untoward disagreements?

Although Plymouthism can hardly have commended itself by its inherent amiability or the amiability of its professors, it is said to be making alarming havoc amongst the so-called "Evangelical" denominations. And it is easy to understand why that should be the case. To a violent, unreasoning, maniacal hatred of "the old paths," it must be attractive from its sweeping negations; and, when ultra-Protestantism does reason, it finds in Plymouthism a resting place upon the steep down which it must perforce slide when it forsakes the One Foundation, and seeks to build a logical structure upon repudiations of undoubted verities. Thus it is not only the furious denouncer of Apostolical Succession who is charmed by a system which rejects a stated ministry of any kind; but the system is equally fascinating to one who is trying to account for the fact that an Apostolic Ministry—which he supposes to have been formed on a pure after-thought—should in the very next generation have everywhere given place to what he is pleased to style "a Popish Priesthood:" a

phenomenon compared with which a leopard changing his spots, or an Ethiopian his skin, would scarcely be more puzzling.

State some of the distinctive features of Plymouthism.

They differ from most Christians in their conception of the Church of Christ. While holding, in common with others, that the true Church of Christ is a body of believers, made partakers of eternal life in Him as their Head, united to Him by a living faith, and regenerated by the indwelling Spirit of God, they go on to maintain the existence of One visible body on earth, all the members of which are united not only invisibly and inwardly by their faith in Christ, but outwardly and visibly by their mode of worship and separation from evil. This body they call, not a Church, but "The Assembly of God."

Is this a Scriptural conception?

I reply:—If the "Brethren's Assembly of God" ever existed, can we conceive the Apostles passing it over in silence?

We find in Scripture three senses in which the expression, "Church of God," is used:—

1. As including the whole body of believers, living and dead (Acts xx. 28).

2. As applied to the whole body of believers existing on earth in Apostolic times, or at any one time (1 Cor. x. 32).

3. To the whole body of Christians in a given city (1 Cor. i. 2), or in a given place, or even house (Rom. xvi. 5). These definitions throw no light on the question at issue. What, then, can that Assembly be which is, according to Plymouthism, in possession of the exclusive power and right to judge of matters of doctrine and practice? That Assembly, they will reply, which holds to God's principle of unity; that is, to their own.

You spoke of the Assembly of God as "SEPARATE FROM EVIL." *Explain this.*

They hold that God's principle of Christian unity is not only *agreement in truth*, but separation from evil: by which is meant unsoundness in doctrine. And the practical deduction from this is, that whenever "evil" of this kind can be detected, not only must the teacher of such error be expelled from the community, but any person or persons who have received him, or received another who has received him, must be regarded as responsible for whatever error he has taught, and be treated as he is treated.

But how can the unity of the Church be realised by common rejection of error?

It is not: for Protestants and Romanists agree in rejecting Arianism; Arians and Trinitarians agree in opposing Deists; Deists and those who receive Christ as the Founder of their religion agree in rejecting Atheism. Does this common rejection bring them nearer together? Is the sympathy of *opposition* sufficient to produce union? The experiment of deliberate union on such grounds has been tried. Just before the French Revolution the infidel philosophers and the French Protestants banded together against Romish tyranny. But there was no real union. The son of the greatest Huguenot pastor perished on the scaffold by the hands of the pupils of these very philosophers. Many parallel cases will occur to those who recall their reading of history.

Does the tenor and spirit of the New Testament favour the view, that the existence of evil in a religious community is sufficient ground alone for the servants of God leaving it?

The Lord Jesus, while blaming the scribes and Pharisees in the severest terms, frequented the synagogue Himself, and bade His disciples "observe and do" what those rulers who "sat in Moses' seat" commanded them, even while warning them at the same time not to follow their example in their corrupt practice. St. Paul never desires the Corinthian Christians to leave the Church on account of the fearful abuses which had crept in, or the "deceitful workers" who were in that Church; and in the addresses of our Lord to the Seven Churches, while denouncing the evil in the churches of Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, and Laodicea, we do not find a word of counsel to true Christians to withdraw themselves. Wherever it can be conscientiously done, it is a matter of bounden duty to abide in the church we belong to, and not hastily to quit it.

How do the Brethren enforce and maintain this "separation from evil"?

They hold that the reception of one whose teaching is unsound does not mean merely reception of him as a *teacher*, but admitting him to the Lord's Supper. And the most sedulous care is taken to exclude all teachers suspected of unsoundness, and those who, even at second, third, or fourth hand, have incurred "congregational defilement" by holding communion with others who, in their turn, had been tainted with unsound members.

It would, indeed, be difficult to discover a warrant in Scripture for this system of close communion. We are told, it is true, that a man is to "examine *himself*," but never that he is to be examined by *others*. The only passage which can possibly be taken as a warrant for this system of examination before communion is 1 Cor. v. 2,—"With such an one, no, not to eat." Obviously, from the context, it is of openly profligate and evil-livers that the Apostle speaks; so, even if it is to be taken as referring to the communion, it would not sanction that kind of exclusion practised by the "Brethren," which falls most severely on the persons of most decided piety.

What else do they hold?

That all sects and denominations are unscriptural; that the Christian Churches are in ruins, and therefore that it is the part of all true followers of Christ to "come out" of them all.

How would you reply to this?

Before we decide that such a step *is* a duty, we must begin by inquiring whether it is a duty possible for us to perform,—whether, in short, we CAN "come out of Christendom."

"Christendom" is a noun of multitude, and as such is employed to denote, not any particular organisation, but the whole body or class which the noun as a general term may be considered to define. It follows, therefore, that to "come out of Christendom," is as impossible for any one who retains even the name of a Christian as for a human being to get out of the human race.

It can hardly be impressed too strongly on the minds of all earnest Christians, who are perplexed with the perpetual exhortation to "separate from evil," that the only way by which they can ensure this separation is, each for himself, to keep apart from influences which will hurt either his moral or spiritual life, or keep him back from communion with Christ. Under the shadow of His wings, and *there alone*, is there real separation from evil for any Christian. Sitting in judgment on our neighbours will not help us in the smallest degree to keep ourselves pure. The smallest society is liable to be made up of "wheat" and "tares;" all the care possible will never effectually prevent the evil. Even persecution from without,—a far more efficient purifier than the severest discipline within,—did not keep out "false apostles," "deceitful workers," or those whose "glory was in their shame," and this in the Apostolic days themselves (Phil. iii. 18, 19; 2 Cor. xi. 14, 15).

Give St. Paul's reply to this principle of Plymouth Brethrenism.

"First of all, when ye come together in the church, I hear that there be schisms among you, and I partly believe it. For there must also be heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you" (1 Cor. xi. 18, 19). Note that the great Apostle of the Gentiles speaks of "heresies *among you*," that is, *within* the Church, as a necessary test of faith. A Church with no heresies would be a beautiful thing, *but it would not be the true Church*, any more than a church with no sinners in it would answer to the net with good and bad fishes in the Gospel parable. This is the rock on which the Donatists long ago, and in later times scores of Protestant sects, have split.

What claim do the Brethren make as to the direct Presidency of the Holy Ghost?

That not only does the Holy Spirit (as all Christian Churches agree) abide in the hearts of true disciples, but that ever since the first foundation of the Church at Pentecost, He holds the special office of "presiding over the Assembly" of the saints. In meetings belonging to the religious denominations of the present day, these teachers allege this presidency of the Holy Ghost is ignored, and a man fills His place; but in *the* true Assembly He is the sole president and leader of the meeting, and speaks by whatever man in the Assembly He chooses.

Is this a Scriptural conception?

Although "the presidency of the Holy Ghost in the Assembly" is a doctrine on which Plymouth Brethren lay peculiar stress, the expression is not to be found in the New Testament. From end to end in vain do we search to find anything which even implies it in so many words. They maintain, however, that it can be deduced from certain passages of Scripture. The first is Matt. xviii. 20. Now if this passage implies any presidency at all (none is *named* in it), it is that of Jesus Himself, not of the Holy Spirit as distinct from Him. And if this text is to establish the presidency of the Holy Ghost, how comes it that it was never referred to during the time when the Apostle Paul was writing his Pastoral Epistles to Timothy and Titus and his catalogue of ministerial offices to the Ephesians? The text existed then. Was it to remain in abeyance during Apostolic times? The other text generally quoted in support of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit's presidency is an extract taken from 1 Cor. xiv. 33: "God is the Author."

It is simply incredible that this passage should be quoted and

used in the manner in which it is by writers of this school. But, further, when we turn to the passage in the original we find that the word "AUTHOR" *does not exist at all.* Literally rendered, the passage would read: "God is not of confusion, but of peace." Undoubtedly the word was judiciously supplied by the translator; but it was negatively, not positively, applied to God. This verse was to point out what God was *not*, instead of what He *was*. What has this to do with the "presidency in the Assembly." If we carefully and patiently study the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, we shall see that the promises of the Holy Spirit's presence with and guidance of the Christian Church do not imply—

1. Certain protection from false and unworthy men joining the Church (Acts v. 1–11; viii. 9–24; 2 Cor. xi. 13).

2. Nor even security for their being at once discovered and cast out (2 Cor. xi. 26; Gal. v. 12; Phil. iii. 18, 19).

3. Nor certain protection against divisions (Acts vi. 1; 1 Cor. i. 11, 12).

4. Nor immunity from false teachers, and the possibility of being deceived by them (Acts xx. 29, 30).

If such a sure protection from these dangers had existed in the days of the Apostles as that of the "presidency in the Assembly of the Holy Spirit," is it conceivable that St. Paul should never have noticed it when warning the Ephesian elders and the Corinthian converts against false teachers?

What are their views in reference to an ordained ministry?

That an ordained ministry was only lawful in the lifetime of the Apostles. To them alone the commission was given to ordain elders themselves, or to delegate others, like Timothy and Titus, to do the same. But with the Apostles this power has died, and since their death the appointment of ministers is unlawful, the only ministry left to Christians being what they term the ministry of *gifts:* viz., that any who possess gifts of teaching, preaching, expounding, &c., should exercise them in the Assembly as they are moved by the Spirit so to do.

On what do they ground this assertion?

The "Brethren" found this declaration on the circumstance that we do not read in the Acts or Epistles of any but an Apostle, or an Apostle's delegate, exercising the function of appointing ministers. But surely it would have been very strange if we had! Who but the founder of *any* society should appoint its first officers? To assert that, therefore, no one, after their death, could

carry on their work,—a work which would seem essential to the existence of any community, secular or religious,—is assuredly to propound a most gratuitous assumption.

If the appointment of Church officers had been intended to be only a temporary provision for the first few years of the Church's existence, we should certainly have expected a distinct declaration to that effect, and a prohibition of all future appointments after the death of the Apostles.

This is what God has done in other cases. For example, when it was intended that the manufacture of the sacred anointing oil should be of a peculiar kind and confined to the family of Aaron, the Israelites were not left to *guess* whether it should be imitated or no. The most explicit commands, enforced by the severest penalties, were laid on the people, that none but the house of Aaron should ever dare to compound this oil, and that none should imitate it.

In the case before us, had the prohibition of any after the Apostles appointing ministers been designed by the great Head of the Church, there would certainly have been a *positive* and not merely a tacit and inferential prohibition, because our moral sense and our judgment could never have led us, in the first instance, to conjecture that such an ordinance was intended to be merely temporary.

On the contrary, any one in judging of the case *à priori* would have arrived at a conclusion exactly the reverse; for if ever there was a time when the Church might have been supposed to be able to dispense with a regular ministry, it would have been in the lifetime of the Apostles, who could be consulted in cases of difficulty, and could "set in order" what was wrong. We should naturally think that officers and governors were more than ever needed when the Founders of the Church were withdrawn.

And when we read those full and careful instructions in the Pastoral Epistles as to the appointment and choice of Church officers, would it be natural to think that these were written only for Timothy and Titus, and intended to be a mere dead letter, an antiquarian curiosity, and nothing more, after their death? If the Apostolic Ministry survived the first century at all, its authority must remain unimpaired to this day, since nobody has hitherto been able to suggest a date in the history of the Church at which there was a break in the chain of succession whereby that authority was handed on from generation to generation. If then there be an Apostolic Ministry, it follows that any ministry

which is not Apostolic is unauthorised and presumptuous. In a word, if the history of the "gainsaying of Core" was really written for our admonition, it is difficult, if not impossible, to point to any lesson it could teach us except to avoid unauthorised ministrations.

There may undoubtedly be cases in which *silence* amounts to prohibition; but surely no plain reader, coming with an unbiassed mind to the subject, would ever think that this could be one of them. As well might we conclude that the command to preach the Gospel was only given to our Lord's disciples, and intended to cease with their death. Indeed, the principle of concluding silence to imply a prohibition, if carried out thoroughly, might render a large portion of the New Testament nearly a dead letter to all who were not alive when it was drawn up.

What do the Brethren teach as to the "ministry of gifts"?

We are told by the "Brethren" that not only security against abuses, but a sufficient substitute for the ministry of orders, is to be found in what they term the *ministry of gifts*. This ministry it is which supplies the place of a regularly ordained ministry in our days.

Doubtless, we have no reason to believe that the inward gifts of the Holy Spirit will ever be withdrawn from the Christian Church. But there is this difference between *gifts* and *graces*. The fruit of the Spirit (Gal. v. 24), the graces flowing from His indwelling, are for *all* who ask in faith (1 Cor. xii. 13; John xv. 7). These *graces* (the love, the peace, the holiness of life) are for all who seek them. The *gifts* are bestowed with diversity (1 Cor. xii. 4), and not equally, or at all times in the same way. And the difficulty which the "Brethren" do not contemplate is, that the Christian Church in our day has clearly not been given the power of *certainly knowing and discerning where these gifts exist.* Practically, it is certain that there is *no infallible* mode of judging gifts, and the wisest and best men have made mistakes. While this imperfection exists, it is clear that a ministry of gifts *alone* can have no existence, call it by what name we will.

Do the Brethren use any symbol or confession of faith?

They hold that all creeds and confessions of faith are to be rejected, as belonging to human systems.

But the real use of creeds and confessions is, not to give a full epitome of Christian doctrine; it is to act as breakwaters and embankments which are erected to keep out the incursions of the

tide; to guard mainly against the forms of heresy or unbelief which may happen to prevail at the time when the creed or confession is drawn up.

It is clear that, if Christians are to worship together, there must be some agreement in their belief. And the advantage of creeds and confessions of faith is, that they enable us to understand what that agreement is, and to learn, in some degree, what doctrine we may reasonably expect to hear preached in any given congregation.

What substitute for creeds do they adopt?

Though the "Brethren" dispense with all such safeguards, they cannot altogether dispense with a substitute for them, as their practice proves. *Their* substitute, in fact, is generally described, by those who know them best, as being a very close and constant mutual surveillance,—each watching his neighbour with the assiduity of a detective officer, lest a word should be let drop which may be thought to savour of false doctrine. Whether this substitute for creeds is an evil or a gain, or whether it secures soundness of doctrine, we need not here discuss.

What are the distinctive doctrinal and practical views of the Brethren as distinguished from their tenets on Church polity?

As far as we can gather, the leading points are :—

1. That it is not lawful to pray for the pardon of our sins, because, if we are real Christians, they were forgiven eighteen hundred years ago upon the cross.

2. That by parity of reasoning we are wrong in asking for the Holy Spirit, because He abides with all true Christians, and they have no need to ask for what they have already.

3. That Christ's humanity was not one like ours, but a peculiar and heavenly humanity, apart from that of any mortal man.

4. That the life-obedience and life-sufferings of our Lord were in no sense vicarious; and that even on the cross it was only during a certain time that His sufferings were of an atoning character.

5. That justification consists in our being brought into a condition of actual righteousness "in the risen Christ;" and that the old nature is one with which we have nothing more to do, for our life is really no longer on earth, but "up yonder with Christ," and only the new nature is known or recognised by God.

6. That the Law is in no sense our standard, nor binding on

us as Christians; our only standard being "the resurrection-life of Christ."

7. That the Christian has no right to take any part in the administration of this world. The governments of the world being in the hands of God's enemies, those who are followers of the Saviour have no business to hold any office in the State, to be rulers or magistrates. Nor should they attempt to improve the condition of the world, which is lying under condemnation; their part is only to keep separate from it entirely.

Examine this teaching by some of the consequences that naturally and frequently attend it in the forms in which it is often put forth.

1. One *result* of such teaching is, that it renders all prayer for pardon useless. The examples of the old Testament, *e.g.*, Moses, David, and Daniel, are discarded;* such prayers being only used before the fulness of the gospel was preached. Even the Lord's Prayer can only have been intended for those who were in the twilight between Judaism and Christianity, and in a state of transition while Christ was upon earth! But see Matt. v. 19, xxviii. 20; Luke xviii. 7, 38, 39; Acts xxii. 16; 1 Tim. i. 2; 2 Tim. i. 18, iv. 16; Heb. iv. 16.

Is it not clear, sad though it be, that such teaching as this disobeys the Master's plain command, acts in opposition to the teaching of the Spirit of God in all past ages, and in effect preaches a different gospel from that which Christ and His Apostles taught?

2. Another natural consequence of such teaching is the manner in which its propagators declare that, "doing God's will has absolutely nothing to say to our salvation." They say: "Doing is a deadly thing; do nothing, only believe;" this is the way to exalt Christ; this, and this only, is the "pure and full gospel." Start, saying, "I am saved."

Now let us ask—Did Christ and His apostles teach thus? See Luke vi. 46–48; Matt. v. 19, vii. 21, xii. 50; John vi. 28, 29; Matt. xix. 17, xxviii. 20; James i. 22; Rev. xxii. 14. Is it not plain, then, that those who, while professing to honour and exalt Christ, say, "Do nothing," in reality, dishonour and contradict Him, for He, with every expression of His will, or of His Father's will, to any persons, always urged them to do it; and insisted on the necessity not only of believing in Himself, but also of *repenting, doing, striving, continuing, and urged these things as*

* Matt. v. 17, viii. 11; Gal. iii. 29; John viii. 56.

essential, sometimes on the mass of his hearers (Luke xiii. 2–24, xiv. 26), and sometimes on those who had believed on Him (John viii. 31, 32; see also Acts ii. 38, iii. 19).

Is it not clear, then, that such teaching as we are considering is *a most imperfect, partial, and maimed gospel*, and that it is really, though unconsciously, libelling Christ? And any who wilfully neglect to do those things which Christ enjoined, do they not imperil, if they do not entirely forfeit, their connection with Him?

3. Another result of such teaching, and one often distinctly set forth in connection with it, is *the entire exclusion of fear* as a motive to Christians. Some say, "We believe in Christ, therefore we have no reason to fear hell or judgment, we shall not come into condemnation; fear shows distrust in Christ, and is alien to the new life." But Christ's teaching is far otherwise. See Luke xii. 4, 5; Matt. xviii. 9, xvi. 26; with this compare Ps. xxxvi. 1; Isa. viii. 13; Prov. ix. 10, xvi. 3; 2 Cor. vii. 1; Mal. ii. 5; 1 Cor. ix. 27; Heb. iv. 1.

Is it not, therefore, clear that more true faith is manifested by those who on occasion fear God, and fear hell, and fear lest they should come short, than by those whose faith leads them to say, "We need never fear"?

4. Another result and another peculiarity of this teaching is, that its propagators speak as if once converted, according to their understanding of that word, their *probation and trial are over*, they work "*from salvation altogether*." They say, "Our motives are drawn solely from what Christ has done for us. To speak of the final issue as in any manner uncertain, is to deaden our energy; to speak of it as depending in any degree on our future conduct, is to take from the efficacy and sufficiency of Christ's work." But, did Christ teach His followers to consider their probation was over on their becoming His disciples? See Luke xxi. 34, 35, xii. 41, 46, 47; Matt. xxv. 1, 10, xxiv. 43–51. *Is it possible* for any one who carefully reads such parables, to imagine that Jesus meant His disciples to think that their probation was over, and that their final salvation was not depending on their continued watchfulness and prayerfulness? See also Rev. ii. 3; Phil. ii. 12; 1. Thess. v. 8; Rom. xiii. 11; Phil. i. 19; Acts xv. 2; 2 Cor. v. 9; Rom. ii. 7; 1 Cor. ix. 24, 25; 2 Tim. ii. 5; 1 Tim. vi. 2; Heb. ii. 3, iii. 12, iv. 1, 11, x. 26, xii. 26. Even St. Paul spake not as if he "worked altogether *from salvation*," or *from Christ*, but *towards* Christ. *Years after his conversion*, he

still desired to win *Christ* (Phil. iii. 8). He counted not himself to have apprehended (Phil. iii. 14).

If, then, any teach that Christians should "work *altogether from salvation*," and that in general no fears or hopes of the future are needed to furnish motives to newness of life, is it not clear they teach a different gospel from that which Christ and His Apostles taught, and that, therefore, they should be avoided?

5. Another consequence and peculiarity of such teaching is, that its advocates generally speak as *if the Judgment Day need not be thought of by them with any apprehension* whatever, or be used as a motive by them to prayer or holy living. They say, "We believe, therefore we shall not come into condemnation, therefore we need not think of the Judgment Day. We must not speak of it as if its result were depending on anything in us, except simple belief." Here, again, let us consider what Christ spoke. See Matt. xii. 36, 37; Luke xiii. 48; see also 2 Cor v. 9, 10.

Is it not evident that they are much safer and more correct interpreters of Scripture, and manifest more sound faith, who say, "We seek to take home to our hearts all Christ's solemn warnings about the Day of Judgment, as well as His blessed promises of heaven; we use them to arouse ourselves to greater diligence; we believe these warnings are prescriptions given by our Good Physician, to furnish us with motives to a holy and godly walk; they are prescriptions we must think of and use, if we would be saved finally by Him."

6. Another consequence of such teaching is, that *repentance* is often ignored, or given an insignificant and wrong place. Some teach that it is needless to tell a man to repent until he has been saved. Some who say, "Only believe," in their use of the term discard any real heart-searchings altogether.

But did God teach that little or no stress was to be laid on repentance, or that it was useless to tell people to repent till they had first been saved? See Matt. iv. 17; Luke xiii. 3; Rev. ii. 5; Acts ii. 38, iii. 19; xvii. 30, xx. 21; 2 Cor. vii. 10.

7. Another consequence of this teaching is, often a *marked absence of humility in its adherents.* They say: "We believe we have an unction from the Holy One, and therefore shall not come into condemnation; we know all things." But what saith the Scripture? See Ps. xxxiv. 10, cxxxviii. 6; Prov. iii. 34; Phil. ii. 3; James i. 19; Matt. v. 3, 5, xviii. 4; 2 Cor. x. 12; Rom. xii. 16; 2 Cor. x. 18; Jer. xvii. 8.

Want of humility is often shown in the manner in which the

youngest and most recently converted are set to preach, and in which St. Paul's advice regarding the appointment of teachers is utterly disregarded (1 Tim. iii. 6, v. 22).

Contrast with this what a few eminent Christians say about humility. St. Augustine taught that "the first, second, and third precepts of Christian religion are humility." Luther said: "He that hath begun seems to himself to have nothing." And St. Bernard: "This remains to him that has begun to be a Christian, to think that he is not yet a Christian. Woe to him that is wholly renewed—that is, that thinks himself to be so; he has never so much as begun to be renewed." President Edwards, a high authority with some, says: "Spiritual pride may be discovered by those who are under the distemper taking the highest room; this they do, by being forward to take upon them the place and business of the chief, to guide, teach, direct, and manage; but he whose heart is under the power of Christian humility is of a contrary disposition. It is not natural to him to speak with a bold, masterly air, but rather to speak trembling."

8. Another natural consequence and marked characteristic of their teaching (though it is not confined to them) is, that it makes the chief test of saving connection with Christ, to consist in a sudden assertion of the individual, that he or she simply believes; or believes that Jesus is his or hers; or that Jesus died for him or her; or that he or she sees the fulness and freeness of Christ's offer of pardon. The system theoretically altogether ignores works as a test; it warns people against considering them a test; it still more discards them as a means of making our calling and election sure.

But Christ taught otherwise on this important subject of the evidences of being in a safe state. See Luke ix. 57, 58, viii. 13; Matt. vii. 22, vii. 15; John xiv. 21, xv. 10–14; 1. John iii. 18, 19; Rev. xxii. 14; Jer. xxii. 15, 16; 2 Cor. i. 12; James ii. 18; Rev. xx. 12. 13; 2 Cor. v. 10; Matt. xxv. 35; John v. 29; Rom. ii. 6–13; Matt. xvi. 27.

9. Another consequence of such teaching is the manner in which the First Person of the Trinity is almost altogether ignored. The thoughts and worship are all directed to the Son. The Father has little or no place in this system of theology. The Son is all in all. The extent to which this has actually gone may be judged from two lines of a doxology now in circulation—

> "From Jesus Christ all blessings flow,
> He's Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

Certainly that is different from the teaching of Scripture. It never excludes the Father. It contains prayers addressed to Him. It speaks of the Son as one to whom prayers may of course be offered up, but yet as our now Incarnate Mediator, an Advocate with the Father through whom we ascend upwards (Eph. ii. 18). There is no safety in anything, on either side short of a full acknowledgment of our blessed Lord as "PERFECT GOD AND PERFECT MAN."

The Church of Rome has virtually, though not in word, denied, or cast into the shade, the true Humanity of Christ; and we see the effect which has followed:—the employment of human mediators.

The Plymouth Brethren by a similar distortion ignore the mediatoral character of the Son of God, and thrust Him into the position which the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who is also our Father which is in Heaven, alone occupies as the Author of every good and perfect gift, Who, through the prevailing mediation and intercession of the Son, showers them on His chosen people by the Holy Spirit.

10. Another natural consequence of such teaching is indifference to means of grace. "We believe, therefore, all is well; we shall not come into condemnation. Why should we go to church? or partake of the Lord's Supper? Why need we be baptized? What do we want with a ministry? We are fully saved, when we believe, what more do we want?" On the same principle, almost every direction of Christ may be dispensed with, almost every sin committed, and poor deceived men, and women, and children, think that they are safe!

11. A final consequence of such teaching is, that it leads to the opinion that Christ *did not preach the Gospel at all!*

If any one heard first of Christ and of His Gospel from many of the present day, he would surely expect when he went to the Great Teacher of teachers, that he would find Him constantly asking people if "they were saved"? telling them that they must "work altogether from salvation," and start, saying, "I am saved; my sins are on Christ, therefore they are not on me; they are all done away for ever; I may now live in the enjoyment of perfect bliss, and in an atmosphere of unmingled praise."

Could such a one fail to be struck with amazement when he read the Gospels, and observed how Christ constantly urged His hearers "to labour, strive, watch, repent, pray, forgive," *not because they had obtained the highest blessings, but that they might*

obtain them? And how, instead of desiring them, to "work altogether from salvation," He, by parable as well as precept, directed all to think of the Great Day of Judgment and of recompence, and desired them, in view of that Day, to take heed to use for Him the powers and talents given, lest they should be found wanting?

And what logical conclusion could such a one come to, but that either those who had first spoken to him of the Gospel had not understood it, or that Christ Himself had not preached it, or that in His doctrine when on earth He is not to be regarded as the Supreme Infallible Teacher? What faithful Christian will not shrink from the two last of these conclusions? The above results which logically, and often, in a greater or lesser degree, practically follow the teaching we are discussing, show conclusively that it is a most unscriptural and unsound gospel that is being thus preached, and that, *therefore, all should be on their guard against it.*

What are the maxims of the "Brethren" with regard to the position of Christians as to the world?

The world, we have already said, they allege to be lying under condemnation; its governments are in the hands of God's enemies; therefore those who are followers of the Saviour have no right to take any part in work connected with the State. Although practically "Brethren" discharge these functions, as many can testify from personal knowledge, yet, according to their theory, a Christian reigning prince ought to abdicate; a Christian man should refuse to be a magistrate; to serve in the army, navy, or police; or to hold any office under Government. His business is to keep steadily apart from all connection with the ruling powers of this world.

Will this theory bear close inspection?

It is true that the ordinary course of life pursued by the majority of persons is contrary to the Spirit of God. But it is not as citizens of the world, but as citizens of a world which is in rebellion against God, that they are condemned. Now, as we cannot read hearts, we cannot venture to pronounce that any number of individual men or women, whom we see before us, are certainly rebels against God and under condemnation. We can only judge—as far as human beings, by their fruits, that is, their works. It so happens that the governments and powers of this world have been very commonly in the hands of men who have no regard to religion; but if this is to be an argument against

taking part in such things, it might equally be pleaded against taking part in all the common affairs of life.

It is not *as* governing that rulers are sinning against God: for the "powers that be are ordained of God,"—and the Apostle here was speaking of even heathen powers—they sin against Him when they rule without reference to Him,—without seeking His help and guidance. But to say that the pious man who serves the State *must* be a partaker in such a sin, is as extravagant as to say he is a partaker in the sins of the ungodly men who may perchance eat of the fruits of the tree he has planted, or buy the goods that he is selling.

Joseph, Nehemiah, Daniel, served under heathen rulers, and yet never swerved from their close walk with God. What should prevent Cornelius the centurion, and Dionysius the Areopagite, and ourselves, nineteenth-century Christians, from doing the same?

The way for the Christian to keep himself pure is not to shun this or that outward position, and then to say, "I am now out of the world;" but to beware of that spirit of the world which may creep into the hermitage as easily as into the palace, and be worn under the plainest garb as easily as under the richest.

"I pray not that Thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that Thou shouldest keep them from the evil" (John xvii. 15).

What would be the logical consequences of Plymouth Brethrenism if it became widely spread?

The Plymouth doctrine is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the ultra-Protestant teaching on the subject of "Christ's Finished Work." The "Brethren" say that if Christ's death was vicarious (1 Pet. ii. 21, iii. 17, 18; Rom. v. 19; Phil. iii. 10, &c.), and so exempts us from punishment, His life, if vicarious, would exempt us from the necessity of being holy. In other words, it logically tends to Antinomianism. Held by a small minority of highly-educated and respectable persons, under the restraining influences of a very decided public opinion, these doctrines may be comparatively harmless; but if they ever become popular, it is difficult to see what there is in them to prevent a coarse and fanatical leader plunging into the excesses of a John of Leyden—"*He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.*"

How are the errors of Plymouth Brethrenism to be met?

There is one safeguard against these "strange doctrines," this

erroneous and one-sided teaching, viz., "rightly dividing the Word of God." With this safeguard the Churchman will be fortified in the best way against the attempts of such new teachers; he will learn to see the difference between a patient and diligent comparing of Scripture with Scripture, and the too prevalent practice of picking out isolated passages and placing them together like the parts of a puzzle. He will learn to "prove all things, and hold fast that which is good."

Is this sect likely to become a numerous and important schism?

What may be the ultimate history of "Plymouth Brethrenism," or its influence on a generation trained up in its teaching, are questions which only the future can answer.

In the meanwhile one point is clear. The teaching of the "Brethren" adds another chapter to the long list of attempts made to do what no one will ever be able to succeed in doing; namely, to create or discover a community on earth which shall form the *one* perfect and infallible counterpart to the Church above. In the face of the very description in the last book of the inspired record, where the Bride is shown descending *from* heaven (not ascending from the earth), men *will* persist in trying to build the temple on earth, and, unlike Solomon, to let the "axe and hammer sound" in its precincts. They take the tuning of the instruments in the orchestra for the full concert of sounds for which it is but a preparation, and, in so doing, have but caused increased discord. It is for us to remember, in these days especially, the solemn warning of our Lord Himself: "If they shall say to you, Behold, He is in the desert, behold, He is in the secret chamber, believe them not."*

* See "Plymouth Brethrenism," by E. J. Whately; and "Blow the Trumpet," by Rev. R. Galbraith, M.A.; also, "Justification of Life: its Nature, Antecedents, and Results," by Rev. M. Sadler, Rector of Honiton; "The Church Quarterly Review," April 1879, &c.

CHAPTER VII.

EPISCOPACY.

What is the declaration of Calvin on the subject of Episcopacy?
That those persons were worthy of anathema, who would not submit to truly Christian Bishops, if such could be had. (Tract. de Reform. Eccles.)

What is the decree of the Second General Council, Constantinople, on Episcopacy?
This Council, which is one of the four to which the English Statutes (1 Eliz. c. l. s. 36), since the Reformation appeal, as the English Canons did before (Canons of Elfric), as the test together with the Scriptures for determining heresy, *declared those persons to be heretics who*, however sound their profession of faith may be, *made separations* and gathered congregations contrary to our canonical Bishops. (Canon vi.)

See, also, Clement of Rome, A.D. 100, "To the Church at Corinth;" St. Ignatius, A.D. 107, "To the Church of Smyrna;" St. Irenæus, A.D. 178, "Work against Heresies," Book vi.; Clement, A.D. 194, "Stromata," Book vi., chap. 32; Tertullian, A.D. 200, "Of Heretical Prescriptions;" Origen, A.D. 230, "Twentieth Homily on St. Matthew;" St. Cyprian, A.D., 250, "Epist. to Cornelius, Bishop of Rome;" Clarus A. Muscula, A.D. 240, "In the Council of Carthage;" Apostolical Canons, canon 1, 24, 32, 47.

The Catholic Code of Canons received throughout Christendom, beginning with the Nicene Council, universally treats of Bishops, and Bishops *only*, as having power to ordain.

In common life, what subjects are supposed to be most important in men's eyes?
Those which occupy their minds at their departure from this world—their last public acts.

Apply this principle to the subject now under discussion.

The last words of our Lord before His Ascension into Heaven were employed in giving the commission now under consideration (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20; John xx. 21, 23); and the last public acts of St. Paul's life which the Scriptures have recorded, were the writing of the Epistles to Timothy and Titus concerning their discharge of this same commission, which he had transmitted unto them. Again in the closing book of the Sacred Volume, the Holy Spirit's directions to those in the Seven Churches who had received the same commission occupy a conspicuous place. All these uniting on one and the same point, it is not surely too much to affirm that the Scriptures themselves have borne ample testimony to the importance of the subject.

For what length of time did Christians have only an Episcopal ministry.

It is very remarkable that there is no doctrine or tenet of the Christian religion, in which all Christians, in general, have for the space of 1500 years so unanimously agreed as in this of Episcopacy. In all ages and times down from the Apostles, and in all places, through Europe, Asia, and Africa, wheresoever there were Christians there were also Bishops, and even where Christians differed in other points of doctrine or custom, and made schisms and divisions in the Church, yet did they all remain unanimous in retaining their Bishops. (Jablonsky's "Reflections in Sharpe's Life," vol. ii. p. 187.)

Now, what, let every calm and reasonable man ask himself and well consider, ought to avail to shake or set aside such testimony as this?

Not a gratuitous suggestion by men in the later days, that these Martyrs and Confessors to the Christian truth, these planters and teachers of Christian churches, these companions of Apostles and lights of the world, were all Judaisers and anti-Christs: that they with one accord throughout the world, without remonstrance from others, or hesitation on their own part, agreed to cast aside the divinely-constituted Order of Ministry, and substitute another of their own devising in its stead; for of this supposed universal ecclesiastical revolution no monument can be produced, nor can any era be assigned to it.

How, then, can these witnesses in favour of Episcopacy be tried?

"By the law and by the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no truth in them."

What is the Scripture proof that the churches of Asia Minor, in St. John's time, were Episcopalian?

In Rev. ii. iii., we find directions from the Holy Spirit to seven churches in Asia Minor, each of which is represented as governed by a single officer, termed an Angel, a word signifying in the Greek the same as *Apostle*, and applied elsewhere to a minister of religion (Mal. ii. 7), who is held responsible for the doctrines taught in his church, as well as the discipline practised in it, and has the care of the whole body.

What is the Scripture proof that the churches of Ephesus and Crete, in St. Paul's time, were Episcopalian?

We have St. Paul, in the last public acts of his life, which the Holy Scriptures have recorded (1 and 2 Tim., Tit.), concerned in giving directions to single officers in the churches of Ephesus and Crete, concerning their superintendence of these churches; their control of the ministers in them; their ordination of the clergy; their responsibility for the public service and discipline.

What is the Scripture proof that all the churches during the Apostles' lives were Episcopalian?

We find the Apostles exercising in their own persons the superintendence of the Churches which they founded; *e.g.*, Philippi (Phil. i.) and Ephesus (Ephes. i.), and of the clergy whom they ordained to them; visiting them in person, or by their coadjutors (Acts xv. 36; xix. 22; 1 Thess. iii. 1); sending to them pastoral letters, uttering sentences of excommunication, and recalling them; giving directions about the public service and discipline.

What is the Scripture proof that the Church of Christ was Episcopalian in our Saviour's time?

We find our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, during His abode on earth, exercising in His own person the superintendence of the Church, ordaining the clergy (of whom He had two other Orders under Him), administering reproof to them; giving directions for the public worship and discipline. The true Head of the Church then exercised visibly and spiritually that chief pastorship or episcopate, which, since His departure from the world, He has spiritually continued to exercise, whence He is still styled the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls; but visibly by His servants, the Bishops and Apostles of the Churches, who will continue it till He "the Chief Shepherd, shall appear."

To whom did our Lord, before His departure from the world, address His commission?

Not to the Seventy, but to the Twelve.

In what terms?

"As My Father has sent Me, even so send I you." "I appoint unto you a kingdom, as My Father hath appointed unto Me." "I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

What had Christian people always understood the above facts to mean until the Presbyterian scheme was invented in the sixteenth century?

That it was our Lord's intention that the Church should continue Episcopalian until His return.

Can you corroborate this assertion by citing some single texts or passages which harmonise and correspond with it, but which are at variance with all other schemes?

Take the character of the Catholic Church in Acts ii. 42. How can they be said to continue steadfastly in the Apostles' fellowship, who have separated from the fellowship of those who, up to the time of the separation, were accounted to be the Apostles' successors, to stand in their place, and to be in their age the Apostles of the Church?

Can you quote any passage to the point from St. Paul's Epistles?

Take those passages (1 Cor. xii. 28, Eph. iv. 11–14) in which St. Paul affirms that Christ instituted divers orders of ministers, the chief of whom were *Apostles*, not for a temporary object, or only for a season, but in perpetuity until the completion of the Christian system, "for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ, until we all come in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." How is this ordinance fulfilled by them who cast away the Apostolic office as superfluous in their scheme of the ministry?

What does Heb. vi. 2, *prove?*

That "the laying on of hands," by which men are made "partakers of the heavenly gift," (*i.e.*, either in Confirmation or Ordination, or in both) is one of "the first principles" of "the doctrine of Christ," part of "the foundation" of the Christian religion. Now it cannot be shown from the Scriptures that this means of grace was ever exercised by any who were not of the Apostolic

order. But if it be fundamental doctrine, it must be of perpetual obligation, and if it be of perpetual obligation, then it follows necessarily that there must be always in the Church officers of the Apostolic Order competent to exercise this office. No single passage has been or can be produced intimating that the Apostolic Order would cease with the lives of those who were first called to it.

Can you add any other testimony from the Holy Gospels?

There are all those numerous exhortations to unity to be found in our Lord's discourses. But if unity be a necessary end in the Church, and Episcopacy the necessary means for attaining that end, then how can the inference be set aside, that the Lord of glory, who ordained the end, must Himself likewise have ordained the means necessary for attaining that end?

What is the summary of the whole matter?

That from THE COMMENCEMENT OF OUR LORD'S MINISTRY—nay, if it is of importance to refer to things under the Mosaic "Law," which had "a shadow of good things to come," we may say that FROM THE APPOINTMENT OF AARON—until the closing of the sacred canon, NO CHURCH OF GOD ON EARTH IS SPOKEN OF IN THE SACRED SCRIPTURES WHICH IS NOT EPISCOPALIAN; AND THAT FROM THENCE DOWNWARDS TO THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, NO CHURCH CAN BE SAID TO HAVE EXISTED WHICH WAS NOT EPISCOPALIAN.

Give the scheme so as to show how the three Orders existed at different times under different titles?

I.	II.	III.
High Priest.	Priest.	Levite.
Jesus Christ.	The Twelve.	The Seventy.
Apostles.	Bishops—Presbyters.	The "Young Men,"
Angels.	Presbyters.	or the "Younger."
Bishops.	Presbyters or Priests.	Deacons.
		Deacons.

Give a short history of the term Presbyter.

The term *Presbyter* has undergone many changes. Originally denoting an elder by birth, like *Senator* among the Romans, it had before the time of Moses acquired the meaning of a ruler or judge. It is used in the Pentateuch and the historical books of the Old Testament to denote indifferently ecclesiastical or civil authority. We read of the "Elders of the people," the "Elders

of every city," the "Elders of the Priests" as well as the "Elders" of the synagogue. In the language of the Apostles, "Elder" became the name of a minister of religion, and it underwent another change when the Apostolic Fathers of the first century selected it as the technical appellation of the second order of the Christian ministry, contrasted with bishop and deacon.

As Christianity spread in the West, presbyter was adopted in the native languages, and became in Germany, *Priester;* in France, *Prêtre;* in Spain, *Presbytero;* in England, *Priest.*

Whether the word be "presbyter" long writ, or "priest" short writ, is of no importance; the question is, what is the real nature of this ministry? Let it be granted that there is no more glorious title than "able ministers of the New Testament," still are they a whit inferior in authority and power to the Jewish priesthood? Nay, does not St. Paul in this very passage go on to say, "Not of the letter, but of the spirit; for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life. But if the ministration of death was glorious . . . which glory was to be done away, how shall not the ministration of the spirit be rather glorious?" &c.

The Christian ministry is invested with those higher powers and gifts of the new kingdom which are essential to the stewardship of the Mysteries of God. It is a call by the Holy Ghost to minister the priesthood of Christ,—a commission to make that priesthood a reality on earth as it is in heaven, and to bring home to the conscience of man "the powers of the world to come."

The charter of our claims to these high pretensions are those pregnant words of the great High Priest, "As My Father sent Me, so send I you," and "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." While the Jewish priests ministered but the shadow, our clergy minister the substance of the one true priesthood. They are not only members incorporate in the Mystical Body of Christ, and so priests in Him by virtue of their union with Him, but they are also, through Apostolical Succession, *missionary* priests on behalf of others, having received a commission to minister the priesthood of Christ in His Body the Church.

As ministers of Christ's priesthood, they discharge all the functions of a proper priesthood. As His agents, stewards, and ambassadors on earth, they also exercise the ministry of reconciliation, and besides this the people also have the advantage of priestly blessings, and of an order of men to lead the public prayers and intercessions of the Church.

These are not "charms and spells," as some sacrilegiously assert, but "healing gifts of heavenly grace," more powerful than the highest natural endowments to bring the people to feel the presence of Christ.

What is the opinion of the saintly Evangelical, Richard Cecil, on this subject?

"I never choose to forget that I am a priest, because I would not deprive myself of the right to dictate in my ministerial capacity. I cannot allow a man, therefore, to come to me merely as a friend, on his spiritual affairs, because I should have no authority to say to him—'Sir, you must do so and so.' I cannot suffer my best friends to dictate to me in anything which concerns my ministerial duties. I have often had to encounter this spirit; and there would be no end of it if I did not check and resist it. I plainly tell them that they know nothing of the matter. I ask them if it is decent, that a man immersed in other concerns should pretend to know my affairs and duties better than myself, who, as they are bound to believe, make them the study of my life."—Cecil's "Works," vol. i. p. 101; ed. 1838.

Give the opinion of Dr. Liddon on the priesthood.

The Christian ministry is not a mere body of lecturers: its work is—1, To bear witness to a fact of reconciliation; 2, To be a means whereby grace is bestowed on men. The objections taken to this view of the Christian ministry arise from a state of popular feeling, in which men (always ready to affix as it were "labels" to persons or opinions, and to make these labels take the place of argument) have recently set up, so to speak, upon the boundary line between the seen and unseen world a prominent notice-board, with the word "Sacerdotalism." This word represents a popular judgment, which may have some justice in it, and cannot be at once set aside; a judgment aimed partly at a great truth, partly at a phase of human weakness. The truth at which this popular judgment is aimed has been made still more difficult by the accretions fastened upon it by the Church of Rome, and the mention of an Apostolical commission suggests, from these associations, a vast dispensing power, which undoubtedly may and does threaten the well-being of civil society. But what is really objected to is the claim to hold any Divine commission at all, to be an integral part of the Church of Christ, without which that Church would be something different; and in this sense the cry of Sacerdotalism might be raised against Presbyterianism and Episcopacy alike.

The claim is resisted, because it involves dependence on any intermediate agency for the communication of spiritual gifts. Under this resistance lie various currents of thought—notably that of the original equality of man. There was nothing in the earlier ages of Christianity to bring out this feeling against the clergy, who were the champions and protectors of men's rights against injustice and oppression. The association, however, of the Church with temporal sovereignty, and the growth of a feudalised clergy called it out; and Presbyterianism, it has been truly said, was in its origin a political protest against the mediæval hierarchy. But, beyond the equal responsibility of each man for his own soul to God, is any such equality possible? Much has been done for liberty; something for fraternity; for equality, nothing; the laws which govern human society are not to be set aside. We see in every department of human life "hierarchies," so to speak, who are and must be the agents for dispensing God's various gifts to mankind. The hierarchy of wealth, which if equally distributed to-day would begin to concentrate itself anew to-morrow: the hierarchy of knowledge, *e.g.*, that of physical science, so positive in its dogmatic utterances, the organ to us of so much that we must welcome heartily, and could not receive without it; the hierarchy of political power, also claimed as the right of all men alike, but always of necessity concentrated in a comparatively few hands under whatever form of Government, the gifts for its exercise being so peculiar and so rare. And thus in religion a ministerial order does but illustrate a general law. It may be said that "all Christians are already priests." A "holy priesthood," as the Apostles call it; and if so, what need of a ministerial order? If only the Christian laity believed this Apostolic view of the priesthood of all Christians it would be more seen that between clergy and laity there is a difference not of kind, but only of degree; and the layman would find no difficulty in the public recognition of that priesthood which he would feel within himself. Or, it may be said,—"All ministerial power is concentrated in Christ." True, but His ministers stand not as His rivals, but His delegated representatives, and do not pretend to more than a delegated authority And yet, there is a certain justice in this popular cry of Sacerdotalism. What excites prejudice is a certain temper. The love of spiritual power is not tolerated, and rightly so: and it is this temper, the temper of the scribes and Pharisees, to which a clerical order is peculiarly liable, and against which it must be on the watch. If the world tells it,

with regard to this, home truths in rough language, it must accept the truths and forgive the language. The trusteeship of the ministry is the idea to be most remembered. The minister of Christ will think more of his office than himself; but he will think of his work and of others more than of his office, and remember that the one grand object for which ministerial powers are conferred is the promotion of God's work.

Give the opinion of the Rev. F. D. Maurice on the priesthood.

Mr. Maurice taught "That God has ordained a set of human instruments, who, only because they are so ordained, become capable of transmitting His mercies to the members of His Church."—"Kingdom of Christ," vol. ii. p. 152.

"An Apostolic Succession, the *idea* of which is scouted as so foolish and farcical by persons who take no pains to dispute the *fact*, is just that arrangement which would meet our wants and not violate one of the principles of a New Testament ministry," p. 153.

"It may sound very thin and childish, but to look back upon outward call, to feel on such a day and hour I was sealed to this work, and to it I am pledged, and in it I must continue,—this has been, as I believe, the strength and support of hundreds," p. 158.

After speaking of the English priest being looked upon as "tamed and domesticated" in comparison with the Foreign priest; "his wings too much clipped to allow of his making any very dangerous flights;" Mr. Maurice goes on, "No one has a right to say—no one can dare to say if he knows himself, and reviews his own acts fairly—that he is exempt from any one of the evils to which his order has been prone, that he, so far as opportunity has served, has not fallen into them. No one has a right to say that the fault lies with his office and not with him. Each of us ought to magnify that office, to feel the vastness of its responsibilities, the sevenfold gifts with which it is encircled, the mighty work for our land, and for all lands, which it might help to perform, if the stewards to which it is committed be found faithful. Do not, I beseech you, my lay brethren, seek to divest us of that faith, or to weaken it in us; for your own sake strive hard to deepen and confirm it. If we have it rooted and grounded in us, we shall honour your professions, and shall conjure you to honour them more, and count them more sacred than you have ever done; that so you may be delivered from all the pettinesses,

and chicaneries, and vanities which accompany the low appreciation of their object and nature. If we ask earnestly that God's priests may be righteous, we shall extend much further than we are wont to extend the definition of His saints. We shall tell you that you are one and all called and sealed to be His soldiers and servants; one and all bound to consider yourselves members of a holy nation; one and all bound in your different vocations to see that that nation is fulfilling the work to which it is set apart. We shall tell you that you are bound to take part with us in a holy war against all that is degrading our English life and our English righteousness; that you are bound to show all the countries which are subject to our sway or within the range of our influence that they have a righteous God, a loving Father over them; and so to deliver them from their miseries and oppressions, so to make them sing with joyfulness."—"Lincoln's Inn Sermons," vol. vi. p. 253.

There are certain popular objections to Episcopacy, irrespective of scriptural or ecclesiastical testimony, which not only avail to prejudge the question, and to prevent men from making an impartial examination of the grounds on which it rests, but also have a still more fatal effect, in that they incline men, if perchance they do enter into the examination, to do violence to the conviction of their own minds, and to set aside the impression conveyed by the evidence, under the idea that there must be something essentially wrong in the Episcopal scheme itself.

What say you to the objection that the Episcopal scheme is uncharitable, for it condemns all others?

As charity aims or should aim, at the welfare of mankind, and as the welfare of men is inseparably involved in their reception of and adherence to THE TRUTH, it follows that that which is most true, must be most charitable. The only question, then, is, whether the Episcopal scheme is *true;* if so, charity requires that we should teach it, and forbids our keeping it back.

But if it is so exclusive, can it be true?

As truth is one and not manifold, the exclusiveness of the scheme is, at first sight, an argument in favour of its being true.

As the Christian religion, of which Episcopacy professes to be a tenet, is itself exclusive, the exclusiveness of Episcopacy makes in favour of its being a genuine Christian doctrine (Isa. xlv. 22; St. John xiv. 6; Acts iv. 12; Eph. iv. 4, 5). If we would be content to teach Episcopacy, as one among many schemes

equally true or equally doubtful, it would seem that we should not be disturbed. If the early Christians could have been content to profess their religion as one of the six hundred tolerated by old heathen Rome, and had been liberal enough to regard all religions as pretty much alike, they would not have been disturbed.

But the Papists hold this doctrine; is it not therefore necessarily unchristian?

This is an old device of the Papists to weaken the hands of the defenders of the Church of England by contriving to raise up imputations of Popery against them, that by thus confounding in men's minds the distinction between Catholic and *Roman* Catholic, they may beguile them to the latter, under pretence of the former.

The question, however, is not, whether the doctrine be held by Papists, but whether it be Scriptural. If it be Scriptural, either we must be content to hold it, as we do the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in common with the Papists, or we must be content to acknowledge the Popish religion to be, in this respect, more Scriptural than our own. This, I, for one, am not prepared to do.

But, say some, it is not merely Popish, it is Judaical, and therefore must be unchristian.

As our Lord instituted the Sacrament of Holy Baptism in a Jewish rite, namely, in the washing wherewith the Jews admitted proselytes; and instituted the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist or Lord's Supper in a Jewish rite, namely the "Mincha," or bread and drink offering; it is rather an argument in favour of our doctrine than otherwise, that it finds for the Christian Ministry, the dispensers of these Sacraments, a prototype in the Jewish dispensation like that which we find for the Sacraments themselves. Accordingly, St. Clement of Rome and St. Jerome both concur in speaking of the orders of the Christian ministry under the very terms (High Priest, Priests and Levites) which obtained under the Mosaic dispensation. And with this agree the sayings of the Apostles. "Ye are a royal priesthood," said St. Peter, addressing the Christian Church in the very language which Moses had used towards the Israelites (compare 1 Pet. ii. 9. with Exod. xix. 6). "Christ hath made us kings and priests unto God and His Father," saith St. John (Rev. i. 6). "The priesthood is changed," saith St. Paul (Heb. vii. 12), not destroyed. But if there be a priesthood upon earth, as all these bear witness that there is, and as

the prophets had foretold there should be in the Christian Church (Isa. lx. 17, lxi. 6; lxvi. 12; Mal. i. 11), then what is there to hinder distinction of orders in the priesthood?

But are not these sayings of our Lord (*Matt.* xxiii. 3–11; *Mark* x. 42–45; *see also Matt.* xx. 25–28; *Luke* xxii. 25–27), *directly subversive of all claims on the part of the Christian Ministry, to authority and degree?*

The best comment on these texts will be furnished by the lives of those to whom they were addressed, even the Apostles of Christ. If we find them exercising the authority of fathers and rulers over the Christian flock, as the Epistles of St. John, St. Peter, St. Jude, and the Epistles of St. Paul distinctly show, then, one of two things must follow—either, that all these were Judaizers and Anti-Christs, or else, that the texts do not really furnish the objection supposed by those who urge them; which will, probably, be the more readily admitted, when it is considered that *immediately after* uttering these words of reproof to the Apostles, our Lord added, "I appoint unto you a kingdom, as My Father hath appointed unto Me" (Luke xxii. 29; Matt. xx. 26, 27).

It is objected that as the doctrine is at any rate of no importance we therefore do ill to insist upon it—What say you to this?

If it be a part of God's *truth*, no man living can possibly tell the extent of its importance. But this all men can see, that, as in the affairs of this world, it is of importance to know that a magistrate, or a herald, or an ambassador has been duly appointed, sent, and accredited, by the king in whose name he speaks; and that, among private individuals, one who acts in the behalf of another has been authorised by his power of attorney; so, if there be any meaning in the term, "Ministry of Reconciliation" applied by St. Paul to the office of the Christian clergy, it must be of the deepest importance to know, that it has been truly committed to those who profess to exercise it. How, indeed, can it be otherwise than important, if it be admitted to be even *possible* (which, who can deny?) that men's interest in the Kingdom of Christ, and *covenant claim* to its privileges, may be in the remotest degree affected by the insufficient appointment of those who administer the Sacramental seals, tokens, means, pledges (let men choose what term they like best) of the Covenant. At any rate, let its importance be what it may, they who believe the doctrine to be true are only acting faithfully to God and to His people, when they calmly vindicate and bear witness to the truth.

There is yet one more objection:—it is asserted that because one Apostle was absent, and others were present who were not Apostles, when Christ gave the commission, therefore it could not have been addressed specially to the Apostles: in other words, that as the Christian estate is not entailed *on the Apostles* per se, *but is held in common without limitation of heirs, it must follow the ordinary and natural order of inheritance—What say you to this?*

It seems to me very much like the language of Korah (Num. xvi. 31), who appears to have been under a similar delusion. There is and always has been a priesthood of the individual child of God, and there is a priesthood of the minister; and one is not incompatible with the other. The two doctrines are not inconsistent, but rather complementary the one to the other, and are essential parts of a mixed, though harmonious, system. Neither may be unduly exalted without both suffering. For it is observable, that any real idea of the priesthood vested in the individual Christian is quite as much obliterated from the popular mind as that of the ministerial priesthood. The true remedy is, not to follow the opposite course and deny the priesthood of the people, in order to claim an exclusive right for that of the minister, but to reconcile the two, giving to each its full proportions. That the two priesthoods co-existed in the typical Mosaic covenant, is an *à priori* argument in favour of a similar combination in the new covenant, which is its true antitype. And when St. Peter (1 Pet. ii. 9) applies a passage of the Old Testament to establish the fact of an inheritance of a royal priesthood being fulfilled in all the disciples of Christ, the identity of language tends to prove, in this as in other respects, the unity of purpose pervading both covenants, and the probability of both priesthoods reappearing in the same harmonious co-operation in the Christian Church. Both priesthoods flow directly from Christ.

The main objection felt to the doctrine of the ministerial priesthood arises from the supposition that it causes a man's salvation to rest, not on his own living faith, but on the act of a fellow-creature, thus either diminishing the need of conversion and personal effort, or supplying a false opiate to hearts ever ready to shift the responsibility of their salvation off themselves. The fear of an exclusive concernment in religion, or a vicarious service of God, or a monopoly of access to the throne of grace, is the cause of the strong opposition with which the ministerial priesthood is assailed. But this is no doctrine of the Church of England. She teaches that, as it was under the old law, so it is

under the new, priests and people must be united to perfect and complete the atonement, and neither party in the transaction could, or can, supply what was, or is, lacking in the other. For "how shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach except they be sent?" (Rom. x. 15). The living creatures who are "in the midst of the throne," and cease not day and night saying, "Holy, Holy, Holy," understand the mystery of "the four-and-twenty elders clothed in white raiment," who in harmonious concurrence with their cry arise from their seats, and "fall down before Him that sitteth on the throne, and worship Him that liveth for ever" (Rev. iv. 8, 10).

The fourth Rubric at the end of "The Communion of the Sick" is sometimes taken as proving, by analogy, that because in the Church of England the performance of the outward rite is not in every case indispensable, therefore she does not hold that Episcopacy is indispensable—What say you to this?

I answer that this is an exception which most conclusively proves the rule—that though God is not compelled to use means, man has no choice—that ever since the Creation God always has, as far as we know, used means—that under any circumstances God only expects according to what a man hath and never according to what he hath not (Rom. ii. 14, &c.), and that this is all the Church of England asserts in this Rubric, following here, as elsewhere, most closely the mind of her Great Head.

What, then, is the conclusion you would draw from the discussion of this matter?

The churches of Jerusalem, Ephesus, Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome of the first century, prove that Episcopacy was the normal mode of government for the then known world; Asia being represented by its capital Antioch; Europe, by its capital Rome, and Africa by its capital Alexandria; while, on the other hand, there is no evidence in Scripture of a Church administering its affairs under a system of parity in the ministry, *i.e.*, by Presbyterianism. Similarly the existence of one thousand Episcopal Sees in the East and seven hundred in the West proves that this striking uniformity could have no other cause than the influence and tradition of the Apostles bidden to go into all the world. And this state of things continues until we come to the case of Ærius, a Presbyter of Sebaste in the Lesser Armenia, in the fourth century, who, from disappointed ambition, taught that there is no difference between a bishop and a presbyter. This,

the first enunciation of the principle of Presbyterianism, was condemned by the Eastern Church, in the person of Epiphanius; by the Western, in the person of St. Augustine. The presidency of bishops in no less than 1585 Ecclesiastical Councils ending with the Reformation period, and the prevalence of Prelacy throughout the East, *where neither the theory nor practice of a Supremacy culminating in one universal Bishop has ever been received*, vindicates that form of government from any supposed connection with Popery. And when we actually come to the Reformation period, we discover that Presbyterianism had its origin in the accident of an assumed necessity, when Scotland asserted, first the variableness of the Divine polity, and then, contrary to the teaching of Scripture and fact, that Presbyterianism was of GOD, Episcopacy of men. And here we may quote the recantation of Sir Edward Dering, a conspicuous member of the Long Parliament, who himself introduced the Root and Branch Bill to eradicate Prelacy, which he afterwards described as "a dreadful Bill that had forced upon him the terror of confusion." His words contain a convenient summary of the whole argument:—

"It may be thought," he said, "want of will rather than want of light which makes men deny the antiquity of Bishops in the primitive times, therefore answer not me, but answer Ignatius, answer Clemens, Tertullian, Irenæus, nay, answer the whole undisputed concurrence of the Asian, European, and African Churches, all ages, all places, all persons, answer all these, or do as I do, submit to the evidence of a truth."

And further, "I am none of those men, who, 1600 years after my Saviour came to plant His Church on earth, will consent to give a new rule, a new-invented government to that Church, never known until this age. I dare not think—who can think it without impiety?—that the Son of God, the Wisdom of the Father, came down from heaven to plant a Church many hundred years since, and this with the dear price of His precious Blood, but either never would, or never could, bless it with a good government till WE were born to set it right! Believe me, sir, believe me, the Wisdom of God cannot be guilty (I speak with zeal and reverence) of such an improvidence, to erect His kingdom then, and not to give it rule but now. Take heed, and let us all take heed, of such a dangerous parity as some would bring in among us; and the rather because they presume to set the stamp of Divine authority upon that counterfeit metal. Parity of degrees in Church government hath no foundation in

Holy Scriptures; indeed, it is a fancy, a dream, a mere nonentity. But, on the contrary, imparity is from Divine authority. Our Saviour did plant it; and then I am sure, it is a plant that should grow and continue."

That Episcopacy is, as in the above quotation it is claimed to be, a Divine institution, it is hoped, has been sufficiently shown in this Manual; but if any outside proof is necessary, it is to be found (Dissenters themselves being the judges), in the melancholy fact that where Episcopacy has been set aside, schism, sooner or later, has burst forth into heresy of the worst kind. The "Eclectic Review" (Feb. 1832) states that out of 258 ancient Presbyterian congregations in England *all but three* had fallen into the fatal heresy of Socinianism. And the author of "Essays on the Church" (by a layman, seventh edition, 1859), says: "Boston (Massachusetts), originally the seat of much gospel light, had become some years back almost wholly Socinian. And an American writer remarks, 'I observed that the church in which a venerated ancestor of mine had laboured with success and fidelity, had successively fallen into the hands of an Arian, a Universalist, and a Unitarian'" (see note, p. 124).

It is of the essence of error to be mutable, as of truth to be immutable and one. Thus it is shown by Bishop Wordsworth of St. Andrews, how that the anti-Episcopalians not only ignore the ecclesiastical traditions of unvarying tenor through fifteen centuries, but also how they themselves have been compelled to shift their ground from time to time, in obedience to authorities the reverse of spiritual. Hence arose distinct phases of Presbyterianism. First in 1560, disputing merely the permanency of Episcopacy; in 1638, condemning it as having no warrant of God; in 1643, seeking its entire extirpation; in 1690, Presbyterianism was based almost exclusively on the inclinations of the people; in 1711 it derived its sanction "from secular and political dictation, assuming to give effect to the popular will." (See "A Synodal Address.")

I would ask the reader to compare with this accumulation of proof, inspired and uninspired, the would-be proofs adduced by the Presbyterians by perverting single words or half-sentences: *e.g.*, interpreting a single word, "Presbytery" (1. Tim. iv. 14), in a sense which is destroyed by the context of the epistle in which it occurs; and building a theory upon one half of a verse (Phil. i. 1), which is destroyed by the other half; and I would also ask the Presbyterians *How many of the points of Christian doctrine*

which you now hold, can you support with stronger evidence than has been here adduced in behalf of Episcopacy? And I would say to them, remember that if in any case you hold doctrines in behalf of which your proofs do not exceed these, you must either acknowledge our faith to be reasonable, or your own to be unreasonable. And then ask yourselves this further question—Can the promises of Christ to His Church (John xiv. 16, 26, xvi. 13) have been fulfilled (as assuredly they must have been, for He is the Truth), if the Church did not know for fifteen centuries what ought to be her own form of government in the ministry of the Word and Sacraments, and why it was left for men then to discover it?

CHAPTER VIII.

ANGLICAN ORDERS.

Are there not objectors who assert that the English Church lost the Episcopal succession at the Reformation?

The adherents of the Papacy have so asserted, and simply because if Anglican Orders are good, their own position is condemned by every General and Provincial Council. How persistently some Romanists, since the time when they saw that the English Reformation was likely to amount to something, *not before*, have endeavoured to prove the invalidity of Anglican Orders, is curious. Anglican Orders are strong at every point. Rome is essentially weak in regard to the Order of the Episcopate.

All Bishops, as successors of the Apostles, hold an undivided share in the Universal or Catholic Episcopate. Hence, the entire Episcopate is the Supreme Witness in the Church; not any one Bishop, however eminent his See; but, all the Bishops as co-equals and co-ordinate. This co-equality is *not inconsistent with any Primacy or Presidency, which the Church itself may have instituted or regulated by Canons;* such as Metropolitical or even Patriarchal Jurisdiction over Suffragans and Comprovincials, but it absolutely forbids any supremacy of one over the others, such as is claimed by Popes. Thus, Christ gave a Primacy among the Apostles to St. Peter, but He limited it by rebuking the inquiry "Who should be greatest," and by commanding them to call no man master, they being all brethren, with one Father in heaven. St. Peter himself was rebuked as a "Satan" the moment he departed from the words of Jesus.

In place of this corporate witness, however, the modern Roman Church, which is as diverse as possible from the primitive Roman Church in its Catholic purity, makes its Bishop of Rome "a corporation sole." It reduces all other Bishops to the rank of mere Presbyters, admitted by him, as "Universal Bishop," to certain

Episcopal functions, but not to the Episcopal Order. The modern theology of Rome has virtually abolished the Episcopal *Order*, and maintains nothing but an Episcopal *Office*, which is held, at the nod of the Pontiff, by a class of men, who are mere Vicars of the Pope, in their several Dioceses. As Papal Vicars, they are very powerful, because they are the arm and voice of a despotic Pontiff, but, as true Bishops, they have no power at all. They are not permitted to bear any corporate witness whatever; and when summoned to meet the Pope in Council, it is only to tremble around his throne, accept his oracles, and renounce their own convictions at his command, or submit to be stripped of their dignities, such as they are.

What is the first assertion of Roman Catholics as regards Anglican Orders?

That great doubt exists about the consecration of Barlow and Parker, on the validity of whose Episcopal ordination that of all succeeding Anglican Bishops chiefly rests.

Can you give a Roman Catholic answer to this Roman assertion?

To use the words of the Roman Catholic historian, Dr. Lingard, "Barlow, the deprived Bishop of Bath, and Hodgskin, once Suffragan of Bedford, who had both been consecrated according to the Catholic (*i.e.*, Sarum) Pontifical, and Scory, the deprived Bishop of Chichester, and Coverdale, the deprived Bishop of Exeter, who had both been consecrated according to the reformed ordinal, proceeded to confirm the election of Parker, and then to consecrate him, after the form adopted towards the close of the reign of Edward VI." ("History of England," vol. vi. p. 9; Dolman, 1854.)

"I have asserted that Archbishop Parker was consecrated December 17, 1559. I owe it to myself to prove to your readers the truth of my statement, and the utter futility of any objections which can be brought against it. . . . I am not aware of any open denial of the facts till about fifty years afterwards, when the tale of the foolery supposed to have been played at the Nag's Head was published. In refutation of that story Protestant writers applied to the register: their opponents disputed its authority, and the consequence was, that in 1614 Archbishop Abbot invited Colleton, Archpriest, with two or three Catholic missioners, to Lambeth, and submitted the register to their inspection, in the

presence of six of his own Episcopal colleagues" (Letter of Dr. Lingard in the "Birmingham Catholic Magazine," 1834).

What is the first objection to this plain historical account of the matter?

The "Nag's Head" story, first published by Christopher Holywood, a Jesuit, in 1604 (*forty-five years after the event*). According to this account, Parker and others with him met at the Nag's Head Tavern in Cheapside, where Scory laid his hands upon them, and then they, in their turn, laid their hands upon Scory, to make him a Bishop.

What answer have you to give to this assertion?

When the story was first published in the reign of James I, it was contradicted by an aged nobleman, Lord Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, who stated that he had been present at the Archbishop's consecration in Lambeth Palace. Then as the records of Scory's own consecration at Croyden, on August 30th, 1551, are still extant, there is at least a second manifest falsehood; then there is the improbability that a Bishop, acting under the orders of the Crown, would have exposed himself by a distinctly illegal act to the penalties of præmunire; and lastly, there is the ascribing to Elizabeth, Cecil, and Parker, the suicidal folly of countenancing an act which would have had no validity whatever in law, any more than in theology, *when they had every church in England open to them, an ordinal at hand, and plenty of Bishops, English and Irish, able and ready to officiate.*

What are the diverse and independent testimonies contradicting the Nag's Head fable?

1. The death of Cardinal Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1558, left the English Primacy canonically vacant, and Parker was elected August 1st, 1559; the temporal act of Confirmation took place on September 7th, and he was consecrated in Lambeth Palace December 17th, 1559.

2. The register of the fact in the Archives at Lambeth, written in the same hand as the registers of Cranmer and Pole, and attested by the same Notaries Public as Pole's own record.

3. A contemporary copy of part of this register in the State Paper Office.

4. Another contemporary copy of the register in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

5. Parker's autograph note-book, in the same library, mentioning his consecration on December 17th, 1559.

6. The casual mention of the fact, as an item of news in the contemporary MS. Diary of Henry Machyn, preserved in the British Museum.

7. The contemporary MS. "Zurich Letters," testifying to the same fact, and but lately discovered.

8. The conduct of Bishop Bonner, in his suit against Horne, Bishop of Winchester, in which he based his objection to Horne's authority on the ground that Parker's consecration was not good in statute law, because the Edwardine ordinal, abolished by Philip and Mary, had not been explicitly re-enacted by Elizabeth when Parker was consecrated according to it. The FACT of the consecration itself was thus allowed by Bonner.

9. The precise dovetailing of the event into the long and intricate series of civil (not ecclesiastical) documents required by the State in evidence of Parker's right to his barony revenues, seat in the House of Lords, and coercive jurisdiction in his province.

10. The manner in which contemporary writers, such as Carnden, Holinshead, &c., take the matter is notorious and undisputed.

Answer the assertions about sham consecration and forged register.

The theory of some Roman Catholic controversialists, Mr. Canon Williams ("Letters on Anglican Orders") among the number, is that Archbishop Parker was not consecrated at Lambeth on the 17th of December, but that some event, half farcical and half solemn, took place subsequently at a house near Bow Church, Cheapside, known by the sign of the Nag's Head, and that this was accepted in the place of consecration. Against this the entries of the consecration of the Archbishop in the register-book at Lambeth are pleaded. To this evidence some Roman Catholics, Canon Williams among them, rejoined that these documents were all forged some sixty years afterwards; that the facts were then invented to answer the objections of Roman Catholic controversialists, and that the alleged Lambeth consecration was never heard of until after the death of Queen Elizabeth.

Now, we have the most direct evidence that this is impossible. On the 17th day of December a London tradesman, "of no great

scholarship or attainments," living in the Parish of Trinity-the-Little, by Queenhythe, happened to enter in his diary in which he recorded facts connected with his business as a furnisher of funeral trappings, the following words :—

"The xvij day of desember was the nuw byshope of. . . . doctur Parker, mad ther at Lambeth."

Again, three days afterwards, he added :—

"The xx day of Desember a-for non, was Sant Thomas coyn, my Lord of Canturbere whent to Bow Chyrche, and ther wher v nuw byshopes mad."

Henry Machyn, from whose diary these entries are taken, died, as is supposed, about 1563,—in which year the diary ends. The manuscript (*Vitellius*, F. 5), is in the Cottonian collection in the British Museum, and was damaged in the fire which caused such injury to the collection. The diary has been printed by the Camden Society.

Now, it is scarcely possible to believe that this man should have made such an entry unless the facts did then occur. For what, on the supposition of forgery in the Lambeth register-book, are we called upon to believe? That forgers selected a date and place, both of which were false and never before heard of, and that a man whose manuscript they did not refer to, or which they could hardly have seen, did on the very same day some sixty years before *suppose* the same facts, and enter them accordingly! Those who would believe this would reject all evidence whatever.

But is it not also objected that because the records of the principal consecrator, Barlow, are lost, therefore no consecration could have possibly taken place?

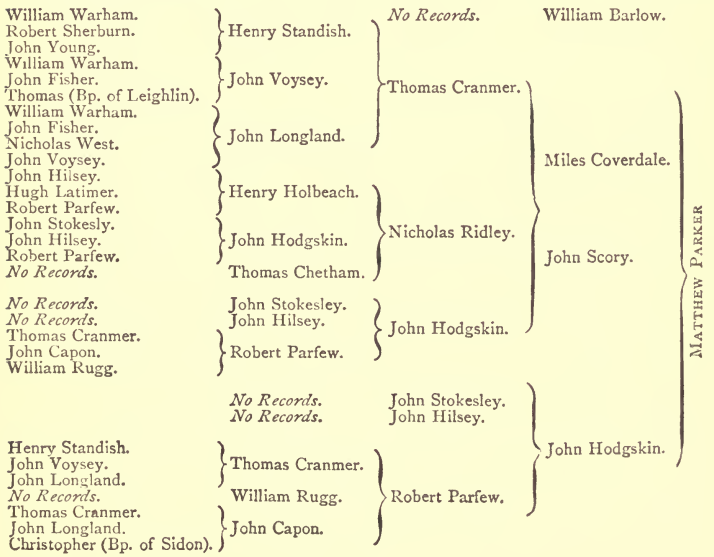
Here observe, first, that even if Barlow was *not* properly consecrated, Parker's consecration was still valid; Parker had four consecrators, Barlow, Hodsgkin, Scory, and Coverdale; each of these uttered the words of consecration, and laid their hands on his head: and therefore three Bishops consecrated Parker, even if Barlow was not a Bishop. Roman Catholics may urge that Scory and Coverdale were consecrated according to the *reformed* ordinal, but they must admit that Parker was consecrated by Hodgskin, about whose valid consecration, according to the rites of the Sarum Pontifical, no question can be raised even by themselves.

Can you show in any other way the incontestable claim of Archbishop Parker to his See?

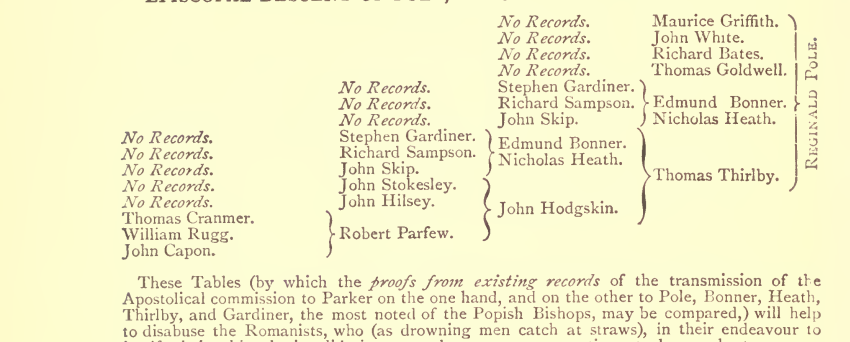
If we compare his Episcopal descent with that of Cardinal Pole it appears, first, that while Archbishop Parker's can be traced by the records, through THREE *channels, independently of Barlow*, viz., Coverdale, Scory, and Hodgskin, all linking him to Archbishop Warham and Cardinal Fisher; *Pole's* through Thirlby, can be traced through *only* ONE *channel*, and that, one which he had in common with Parker, viz., Hodgskin.

Second, that Bonner and Heath *cannot be traced at all;* and, third, that concerning Gardiner, he is in the same case with Barlow, no record of his consecration having been made. The objection, therefore, if allowed, may avail to destroy the Episcopal character of Gardiner, Heath, and Bonner; and to reduce Pole and Thirlby to a single thread: but it will avail nothing to injure Parker, whose triple cords will fulfil the requisition of the canons without the fourth, which exceeded it.

EPISCOPAL DESCENT OF PARKER, TRACED FOR FOUR SUCCESSIONS.



EPISCOPAL DESCENT OF POLE, TRACED FOR FOUR SUCCESSIONS.



These Tables (by which the *proofs from existing records* of the transmission of the Apostolical commission to Parker on the one hand, and on the other to Pole, Bonner, Heath, Thirlby, and Gardiner, the most noted of the Popish Bishops, may be compared,) will help to disabuse the Romanists, who (as drowning men catch at straws), in their endeavour to justify their schism by invalidating our orders, are wont sometimes to lay much stress upon the omission to enter the record of the consecration of William Barlow, one of the consecrators of Archbishop Parker.

With respect to the consecration of Archbishop Pole, it will be found, on examination, that its *ostensible* validity rests wholly on Hodgskin, the Suffragan of Bedford, one of the consecrators of Archbishop Parker; so that if the Romanists will not admit Parker's consecration, they must give up Pole's. For Pole was consecrated by seven Bishops, viz., Nicholas *Heath*, Archbishop York; Edmund *Bonner*, London; Thomas *Thirlby*, Ely; Richard *Bates*, Worcester; John *Whyte*, Lincoln; Maurice *Griffith*, Rochester; and Thomas *Goldwell*, St. Asaph. But of the consecrations of *Bates*, *Whyte*, *Griffith*, and *Goldwell*, no record can be found. Heath and Bonner had been consecrated by Stephen *Gardiner*, Winchester; Richard *Sampson*, Chichester; and John *Skip*, Hereford; but of the consecrations of *Gardiner*, *Sampson*, and *Skip*, no record can be found. The only other consecrator of Pole was *Thirlby*, who had been consecrated by Nicholas *Heath*, Edmund *Bonner*, and John *Hodgskin;* but the consecrations of the consecrators of Heath and Bonner are, as we have seen, not to be found, consequently the only *ostensible* line of succession to Pole must be traced through Hodgskin, the Suffragan of Bedford.

Can you strengthen this argument in any way?

It may be well to add here as a proof of the historical strength of the chain upon which the validity of Anglican Orders depends, that even if it had been impossible to produce the documents which testify to the fact of Archbishop Parker's valid consecration, it is an extraordinary, yet most important fact, that at the con-

secration of Archbishop Laud, three separate lines of Orders, viz., the English, the Irish, and the Italian, meet together (see Table II. in the Appendix*).

APOSTOLICAL DESCENT FROM ST. PATRICK, ABP. OF ARMAGH, TO WILLIAM LAUD, ABP. OF CANTERBURY.

Celestinus, the 44th Bp. of Rome, consecrated and sent Patrick, the 1st Abp. of Armagh . . . . . A.D. 432
Christopher Hampton was the 92d Abp., 1613.

In the year of our LORD, 1616, July 7th,

Christopher Armagh
George Canterbury
John London
John Rochester
John Lichfield
} Consecrated *Thomas Morton*, Bp. of Chester, translated to Lichfield 1618.

And in the year 1619, May 9th,

Thomas Lichfield
George Canterbury
John Rochester
Arthur Bath and Wells
John London
} Consecrated *John Howson*, Bp. of Oxford.

And in the year 1621, Nov. 18th,

John Oxford
George London *
John Worcester
Nicholas Ely
George Chichester
} Consecrated *William Laud*, Bp. of St. David's; translated to Canterbury 1633.

George Abbot *Abp. of Canterbury*
Mark Anthony de Dominis — Abp. of Spalatro
John King — Bp. of London
Lancelot Andrews — Bp. of Ely
John Buckeridge — Bp. of Rochester
John Overall — Bp. of Lichfield
} Consecrated { *George Monteigne*,* Bp. of Lincoln, Dec. 14, 1617; translated to London 1621. (Reg. f. 105.)

What has the Roman Catholic historian to say about Barlow?

"When we find Barlow during ten years (1536-1546), the remainder of Henry's reign, constantly associated, as a brother, with the other consecrated Bishops, discharging with them all the duties, both spiritual and secular, of a consecrated Bishop, summoned equally with them to Parliament and Convocation, taking his seat among them according to his seniority, and voting on all subjects as one of them, it seems most unreasonable to suppose, without direct proof, that he had never received that sacred rite without which, according to the laws of both Church and State, he could not have become a member of the Episcopal body"

* *N.B.*—The Romish intruders into the Irish Diocese have derived their Orders from Italy and Spain since the Reformation, and not from the Irish Church. The validity of the Irish consecrations have never been disputed.

(Lingard, "Hist. Eng." vi. p. 329.) According to Lingard, what the Roman writers of Elizabeth's time challenged, was not the fact, but the legal and canonical regularity of Parker's consecration—the register was inspected by several Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, on the invitation of Archbishop Abbot, in 1614 (see pp. 186, 455, *et seq.*).

But is the Nag's Head fable the only objection?

There is a second objection raised :—granted the *fact* of Parker's consecration, its *validity* is contested on two separate grounds.

1. That Barlow, who acted as chief consecrator, was himself never consecrated, and that this deficiency could not be made up by his co-consecrators, because as they merely coincided in what he was doing, they effected nothing if his act was an empty form.

2. That the Edwardine ordinal is an invalid rite.

How do you answer this objection?

As regards the office of co-consecrators, the fact is, the Primeval and Nicene Canons requiring three Bishops to take part in every consecration, were intended expressly to guard against any chance of invalidity. So that B and C might supply any defect of A. And so Martene lays down :—

"Omnes qui adsunt episcopi non tantum testes sed etiam co-operatores esse citra omnem dubitationis aleam asserendum est." (Martene "De Antiq. Eccl. Rit," lib, i. part vi. cviii. Art. 10, sec. 16.) Further, in the special case of Parker, each of the four Bishops, as the register expressly mentions, recited aloud the formula of consecration when laying hands on him, and thereby acted independently, though in concert; and thus any possible defect in Barlow was fully supplied.

In the Eastern Church the Patriarch or Metropolitan consecrates primarily, yet the other Bishops touch the person consecrated, and so certainly assist not only in the public rites, but in the very act of consecration. They are there for that purpose. And this is in accordance with the practice of the Apostles, and the Canons of the "Orthodox Church." Our conclusion, therefore, with Martene, as well as with the Eastern Church, is, that the Assistants in the consecration of a Bishop-elect are not simply witnesses, but actual co-operators and co-consecrators in bestowing the character of the Episcopate.

But what about the Edwardine ordinal being an invalid rite?

In the words of a Roman Catholic theologian, "Since the words 'Take the Holy Ghost' perfectly express the effect of Epis-

copal Ordination, they may be taken by the Church to be its essential form" (Habert, quoted by Haddan, "Ap. Succ." p. 257). And to quote another Roman divine, "Although the word Bishop is not in that form, yet the other circumstances accompanying the form sufficiently express it" ("Vasquez," iii. disp. 240, n. 58, and De Coninck "De Ordin." disp. xx. dub. 7, num. 58). If the Edwardine rite be rejected for its simplicity, the consecrations of the first thousand years of Christianity fall with it.

And then there is another fact which is conclusive evidence of the view taken by Romish authorities in Queen Mary's reign as to the validity of the Edwardine rite, viz., the degradation of Bishop Hooper and others. In the Act of Queen Mary for reconciling England to Rome is embodied Cardinal Pole's commission at full length; and in that commission there is full authority from Rome to recognise all ordinations and institutions which had taken place since the rupture, provided the clergymen concerned would give in their adhesion to the new order of things. After this it is really absurd for modern Romanists to pretend that Anglican Orders are not valid. (See Bishop Forbes's "Explanation of the Thirty-Nine Articles,"pp. 714-716.)

But was Barlow in reality never consecrated?

The actual record of his consecration is missing, as are those of eight other prelates out of forty-five in Cranmer's carelessly-kept register. But Barlow's *Confirmation* is entered, as is that of four of the other Bishops whose consecrations are omitted. Two of these consecrations are found recorded in diocesan registers, but Barlow's registers at St. Asaph's and St. David's are both lost.

Is there, then, no legal document existing in any way connected with Barlow as a Bishop?

There exist documents which prove his nomination, election, and confirmation—all of which by English law must precede consecration—and his installation, his recovery of the temporalities, his summons to the House of Lords, his sitting and voting there and in Convocation, and his share in consecrating other Bishops in 1539 and 1542; most, if not all of which, by law could not take place unless he had been consecrated.

Can you state any fact that would make his consecration a moral certainty?

Præmunire was too formidable a weapon under Henry VIII. for Cranmer to neglect Barlow's consecration, or for Barlow himself to act as Bishop without it, especially as the king was a

great stickler for legal punctilio in all matters, particularly ecclesiastical ones, even when the spirit of justice was most absent from his proceedings.

Is there no direct evidence to settle the difficulty?

Bishop Gardiner, writing to Protector Somerset, speaks of Barlow as "Bishop," and as his "Brother of St. David's;" and *Mary's Congé d'elire*, naming Gilbert Browne to the See of Bath and Wells, specifies *the resignation of William Barlow, last Bishop thereof, as the cause of the vacancy.* If Barlow had never been really Bishop, that reason would not appear in the deed. Several autograph letters of Barlow were discovered in 1869, in the State Paper Office, which refer to his Episcopal character, besides a State paper which expressly mentions his installation at St. David's, a ceremony fixed by 26 Henry VIII. c. 14, to follow necessarily on consecration, which consecration is recited in all contemporary mandates to the chapters.

But were not both Cranmer and Barlow Erastians?

If so, it is hardly conceivable that they should have agreed to omit a ceremony, the very omission of which would have made every Episcopal act of Barlow's null and void in civil matters, and there is yet the fact that under Edward VI., when an act of the kind would have been far less perilous than under Henry VIII., Hooper was forced by Cranmer to submit to consecration, though openly protesting against the ritual and the form of the office.

Has the Church of Rome never given the lie to these objections?

The validity of Anglican Orders has been recognised by the authorities of the Roman Church in two ways.

1. Julius III. addressed a brief to Cardinal Pole in 1554, desiring him, as we have said above, to absolve and reconcile Bishops and Priests made in Edward VI.'s time, but not directing him to re-ordain them.

2. The Council of Trent was asked by Pius IV. to declare Elizabethan Bishops unlawful, and it expressly refused to do so.

In the discussion as to whether Bishops received their jurisdiction at consecration or from the Bishop of Rome, the Irish Bishop of Achonry, whilst strenuously upholding the latter doctrine, makes the chief basis for his conclusion to rest on the fact, that if they be right who hold the jurisdiction of Bishops to be immediately from God and not from the Bishop of Rome, "the opinion of heretics would thereby be the more confirmed;

and for this reason, that in England the king calls himself head of the English Church, and creates Bishops who are consecrated by three Bishops, and call themselves true Bishops sent from God; but this we deny, *because they are not appointed by the Roman Pontiff*, and in so denying, we act rightly and *disprove their claim by this one reason only*, and by no other, for even they themselves show that they have been called, elected, consecrated, and sent; if therefore in this canon it be declared that Bishops are instituted by Christ only, they (the English Bishops) might infer that election could take place by virtue of a mere instrument, and this would apply equally in all cases to the king as to the Pope."

What conclusions do you draw from this remarkable speech, which, it is stated, "greatly approved itself to all"?

1. That within a year or two of Parker's consecration, it was asserted, and perfectly known to be true, that English Bishops were duly elected and consecrated—conclusive evidence against the Nag's Head fable.

2. That the *validity* of their consecration was not at that time impugned.

3. That so far as jurisdiction was concerned, that was equally without dispute, except on the theory which the Bishop of Achonry was upholding; for who would care to notice the *irregularity* of Anglican Orders, if their *validity* could be assailed.

But what have you to say to the regularity of Anglican Orders?

Here, too, proof is not deficient. Mission, starting from the sending of the Apostles, means the office of preaching the Gospel and setting up the Church in a heathen land. Only two possible events can occur which make a fresh act of mission needful, the total disappearance of Christianity (as when the early teachers of Greenland and their disciples all died of plague), or the abandonment by Christians themselves of the Apostolic Ministry, so as to lose the Sacraments. But so long as a Christian remnant, Episcopally ruled, continues, fresh mission is impossible. Such is obviously the case with the Anglican Church. It has not ceased to be Christian, nor to be Episcopally transmitted, and no other body can have true mission where it exists, so long as this state of things continues.

What is the meaning of jurisdiction?

Jurisdiction means the right of publicly exercising the spiritual functions conferred by consecration, and of exercising rule in a

definite place. According to the most ancient code of the Church, the African Canons, this power is lodged in a Metropolitan by the assent of his Comprovincials, and is communicated from the Metropolitan to all newly-made Bishops in his Province. This Metropolitan might be, as in some churches, the senior Bishop, in years or in date of consecration, or, as in other churches, including England, the holder of a particular See. The See of Canterbury has enjoyed this pre-eminence ever since the mission of St. Augustine, and a *Brief of Boniface V.* is recorded by William of Malmesbury, *anathematising any person who should ever interfere with or resist its primatial rights*, NO MATTER WHAT CHANGES TIME MIGHT BRING ABOUT IN HUMAN AFFAIRS. This brief, on Roman principles, disposes of the claims of the titular Metropolitical See of Westminster, &c. &c. &c., to which, in fact, no jurisdiction is annexed, as its occupant is compelled to refer all matters of the *forum externum* to Rome.

The idea that all jurisdiction comes from the Pope is a mistake which has grown naturally enough out of a still greater mistake, namely, the notion that the Pope is, by our Lord's appointment, the Supreme Head of His Church on earth. The Pope's jurisdiction, say Roman Catholics, is resident in the See of Rome. The spiritual jurisdiction of every See, say the Early Church and the Anglican Church, is resident in each See, and comes to the Bishop with it.

The Bishops of a Province or Synod are the superiors of their own Metropolitan, and can try and even depose him, since his higher rank is merely a point of ecclesiastical order, and rather of honour than of power. But the priests of a Diocesan Synod belong to a lower grade than their Bishop, and can do no more than demand his trial before the Metropolitan.

Was the Church of England ever under the Patriarchal authority of Rome?

After the erection of Canterbury into an Archbishopric, the Bishop of that See was held *quasi alterius orbis Papa*, as Urban II. styled him (Wil. Malmes, de gestis Pont. Angl. i. Eadmer ii. pp. 52, 195); and is therefore called frequently in our writers *Princeps Episcoporum Angliæ*, *Pontifex summus*, *Patriarcha Primus*, and his seat *Cathedra Patriarchatus Anglorum*. In ancient times Britain was never subject to the See of Rome; for it was one of the dioceses of the Western Empire (Notitia Prov. Occident. Panciroli, ii. c. 48.), and had a Primate of its own; and having *a*

Patriarch of its own in later times (by the Pope's own confession at the Council of Bari) he could not by St. Gregory's own doctrine be appealed from to Rome (Epist. xi. 54, *Patriarcha secundum canones et leges præbeat finem.* See also Bingham Antiq. ix. i. 9, 11, &c.). "The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England:" *i.e.* (according to the more explicit terms of the Oath of Supremacy) no "power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, *Ecclesiastical or Spiritual.*" Such is the independent language of the English Church. Is not, however, the English Church placed by the Sixth Canon of the First General Council under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, as *Patriarch of the West?*

We answer in the negative, for two reasons.

1. The early Patriarchal System rested on a purely political basis (see Canons of *Constantinople* and *Chalcedon*). Hence, when the political power of Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome declined, the prerogatives of the three great Sees, *as a matter of right*, were at an end. Any precedence which they still retained was retained only by the courtesy of other churches: and no church was bound to yield obedience, after the grounds on which the jurisdiction was founded had ceased to exist. The Roman Patriarchate, in short, was an institution not of Divine right, but of human expediency; temporary in its very nature, because based upon the circumstances of a particular age; long since effete and dead, because the political ascendency of Rome in Western Europe has long disappeared.

2. Up to the time of St. Augustine the monk (596), the British Metropolitans were "autocephalous," *i.e.*, ecclesiastically independent of any foreign Patriarch. The Roman Missionary was plainly told by the Abbot of Bangor, that the churches of Britain "owed no other obedience to the Pope of Rome than they did to every godly Christian." And all subsequent encroachments of the Roman See on English ground were so far from according with the judgment of the Catholic Church, that they were a direct infringement of a canon passed at the third General Council (*Ephesus*, 431): "No Bishop shall occupy another province which has not been subject to him from the beginning . . . lest under pretext of sacerdocy the pride of power should creep in, and thus we should, little by little, lose the freedom which Jesus Christ, the Liberator of all men, has purchased for us with His own blood." (See Mr. Burgon's "Letters from Rome," pp. 484, 420.)

N.B.—The Church of Antioch boasted of having received its Episcopate from St. Peter; nay, he is even said by St. Jerome to have been Bishop of that See. And the modern Church of Rome has allowed the claim by establishing a festival in honour of the Chair of St. Peter at Antioch (Missal Fest. Febr. xxii.). On what intelligible principle can it be held that whilst Antioch and Rome shared the honour of St. Peter's Episcopal supervision, Rome alone retains the permanent heritage of his supremacy?

If, as it is constantly and indefatigably asserted, the Bishop of Rome wields all St. Peter's prerogatives because St. Peter was his predecessor in the Roman See,—and no other argument, be it remembered, has ever yet been advanced for attaching all these wonderful prerogatives to Rome—why should not the See of Antioch prefer a prior claim? On the Roman theory it is absolutely unaccountable that the Bishops of Antioch should not be entitled to the supremacy, rather than the Bishops of Rome.

Let me quote from the valuable work of Mr. Allies—"The Church of England Cleared from the Charge of Schism"—the following summary of the first six centuries:—"Had the supremacy of the Pope been the divinely-constituted government of the Church, the first six centuries would have borne witness to it. I assert that they have borne the most complete, manifold, and clearly-expressed witness against it. Nor can it be said that the same power was then visible in germ which afterwards so splendidly and marvellously developed into an august consistent whole. The power of the Roman Pontiff in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries stood on a different basis from his power in the Middle Ages. The difference may, perhaps, be summed up by saying, that in the former he was vicar of Peter, in the latter vicar of Christ; in the former he had a more or less defined primacy; he was first among brethren; in the latter he laid claim to a complete supremacy—he was exalted as a monarch above his councillors. A primate is one *idea;* a monarch is another. It seems to be the great *tour de force* of Roman writers to prove the second by the first. Rather, is the true relation of the Roman Pontiff to his brother Bishops expressed in St. Augustine's beautiful words to Pope Boniface: 'To sit on our watch-towers and guard the flock belongs in common to all of us who have Episcopal functions, although the hill on which you stand is more conspicuous than the rest.'"

It is also remarkable that the title "Mother of all Churches," which is the special title claimed by the Church of Rome, was

given by the Fathers of the Second General Synod and the Eastern Bishops, not to the Church of Rome, but to the Church of Jerusalem. "Yet," adds Dr. Barrow, "the Bishops of Jerusalem, successors of St. James, did not thence claim I know not what kind of extensive jurisdiction; yea, notwithstanding their succession, they did not so much as obtain a Metropolitical authority in Palestine, which did belong to Cæsarea, and was by special provision reserved thereto in the synod of Nice; whence St. Jerome affirms that the Bishop of Jerusalem was subject to the Bishop of Cæsarea" (see Apost. Can. 34)—"No primate shall do anything without the opinion of all (the Bishops), that so there may be concord."

N.B. There is nothing in common law to render invalid the choice even of a layman for the Papacy. John XIX. and Adrian V. were certainly laymen; and the latter even died without taking orders, and yet he promulgated views modifying the whole system of papal elections, which by his successors were held to be invested with all the sacredness of pontifical utterances (Cartwright's "Papal Conclaves," p. 164).

Mr. Allies' book mentioned above fully refutes his later ones, which give merely the questions stated in it, with the answers omitted, and contain no new matter.

Is then the Church of England, being thus autocephalous, also acephalous? Has she no supreme visible Head?

In the Roman sense of supremacy, *none.* She is a branch of the Catholic Church to which Holy Scripture assigns no Head but CHRIST. But as a national Church she is subject to the "chief government" of the reigning monarch. For the extent of this government the 37th Article refers us to the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth (1559). Those Injunctions lay claim only to such authority as "was of ancient time due to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, *i.e.*, under God to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these . . . realms, dominions and countries, of what estate either ecclesiastical or temporal soever they be, so as no sovereign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them." (Cf. "Juel. Ep. xiv. ad Bulling.")

In 1536, indeed, both Houses of Convocation had acknowledged Henry VIII. as "Supreme Head of the English Church and clergy, *in such sense as the law of Christ allowed the title.*" But the saving clause left convocation uncompromised as to the extent of the Royal supremacy; and happily for the Church,

Queen Elizabeth withdrew the claim which Henry had advanced. In the room of her father's Act of Supremacy, which had been cancelled under Philip and Mary, she was content to substitute an Act which accorded to her the *supreme governorship* of the English Church. And that this governorship is simply civil, that it embraces no part of the power of the keys, is clear from the explanatory Injunctions cited above.

A royal supremacy, *thus limited and defined*, is in accordance at once with Holy Scripture, with ancient precedent, and with the practice of other non-Roman branches of the existing Catholic Church. Compare for the first, the sort of supremacy exercised over the Levitical priesthood by the Kings of Judah (*cf. e.g.*, 1 Chron. xv. 12, xxiii. 6; 2 Chron. viii. 14, 15, xv. 8, 9, xvii. 7, 9, &c; also Bp. Browne, "Articles," p. 798, note). For the second, the extensive influence exerted over the Catholic Church by Christian Emperors, who not unfrequently convened and presided over General Councils, nominated Bishops, and heard clerical appeals (see Pusey, "On the Royal Supremacy," especially pp. 22, 32, 140, 141). And for the third, we are supported by the example of the Orthdox Russian and Greek Churches: which, acknowledging no Head of the Visible Church but JESUS Christ our Lord, admit the general supremacy of the Crown in terms nearly equivalent to those accepted by ourselves (compare Döllinger, "Church and the Churches," pp. 129, 132).

Then you mean to assert that it is Rome, and not England, that is in schism?

When Parker was canonically elected to the vacancy left by Pole's death, he entered, on consecration, into all the Metropolitical and Primatial rights of his predecessor, including that of giving jurisdiction to his suffragans. If Pole had lived, and been uncanonically deposed, this would not have been so, since Parker, if intruded into his place, would have been in an irregular position, but as matters actually were, his rights are unimpeachable. Only one thing could have impugned them, and that was not forthcoming; to wit, a protest against his authority by the suffragans of his province, with the putting forward another claimant of the primacy. His consecrators were precisely the surviving representatives of the episcopate of 1553, which had illegally been deprived by the State—not by Canon law—under Mary. And death was singularly busy amongst the Marian Bishops. When Mary died, seven sees were vacant, six in the South, and one in

the North. Nine more Bishops were dead before the middle of January 1560, *i.e.*, within little more than a year after Parker's consecration. Only eight Marian prelates then survived. Three of these quitted England, and never returned. The five who stayed made no sign, and did not interfere in any way. Thus even the sees into which men had been intruded were canonically filled one by one, and when Cox, the intrusive bishop of Ely, who had supplanted Thirlby, died in 1559, and was canonically succeeded by Heaton, the last trace of irregularity vanished. No protest like that of thirty-six of one hundred and thirty-five French Bishops deprived unlawfully by Pius VII., acting as the tool of Napoleon I. in 1801, is to be found in this period of English Church history. The Roman Church allowed the case to go by default, and the breach to heal itself in forty years, and made no effort to start a rival claim till 1850, *three centuries too late* for any show of canonical validity, *and even then, by not venturing to set up an Archbishop of Canterbury, professing to be the true successor of Pole, it left the new titular Primate under the operation of Boniface V.'s anathema.*

The Anglican Church shows a regular adhesion to the Nicene rule of at least three consecrators. The first Roman Catholic Bishop for the United States was consecrated by *one* only, an English vicar-apostolic with a merely titular see. If there has been, as Ultramontane controversialists declare, a transfer of the titles, property, and privileges of the old Church of England to a new body set up at the Reformation, there must be some Act of Parliament to show for it in the statute-book; but there is nothing of the sort. On the other hand, there are two Scottish Acts of Parliament extant, in 1560 and 1690, which do transfer the rights and property of the Scottish Church to another society; proof sufficient of the kind of evidence which would be producible here, were the allegation true for England.

What is Dr. Newman's argument against the validity of Anglican Orders?

He undertakes to defend the extraordinary thesis that wherever there is a true eucharist, so great a gift must have a *custos*, and that it is "charitable to the bulk of the Anglican clergy to hope, to believe, that so great a treasure has not been committed to their keeping."

In what consists the hardihood of this assertion?

In the following *tu quoque* reply furnished by the Doctor himself:—

In his Essay xii. (A.D. 1841) on the "Reformation of the Eleventh Century," ample evidence is given as to the sort of *custos* which the sacrament had during the really Dark "Ages," and in his account of St. Carlo Borromeo he tells us, "he found his diocese in extreme disorder. The great truths of salvation were little known or understood, and religious practices were profaned by the grossest abuses and disfigured by superstitions. The sacraments were neglected, the clergy seem scarcely to have known how to administer them, and were slothful, ignorant, and depraved" ("Essays, Critical and Historical," vol. ii. p. 141; *see also*, "The Gallican Church," by Rev. W. H. Jervis, M.A., vol. i. p. 250).

To say the least, therefore, the argument from Anglican disesteem of the eucharist, however plausible, is a very dangerous one for Romanists to employ. It proves too much. The Doctor is playing with edged tools. He himself has proclaimed what sort of "custodes" the Romanists have been, and he is not ignorant of the sort of "custodes" they are, to their eucharist. What of the Roman priests whose glaring profanity in celebrating Mass gave the first shock to the faith of Luther? Or to come to our own day, what of those Mexican priests whose scandalous lives are a by-word, and of whom the late Emperor Maximilian—a loyal and pious Roman Catholic—speaks in his journal as "not priests, but men in black coats who read Mass"? Are they fitter custodians of the eucharistic gift than the mass of the Anglican clergy? Perhaps it will be said, that at least all of them believed in it. It is more than probable that they did not. There was a wide-spread infidelity, to mention one example only, in the Roman and Florentine Society of the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth century, which had penetrated all ranks of the clergy even to the very highest.

Pope Alexander VI. told Pico di Mirandola that he did not believe in God; and the probability is that Leo X. was also an infidel, though there is not the same direct evidence of it. But supposing all these unworthy custodians of the eucharist did and do believe in it, so much the worse. It is certainly, to adopt Dr. Newman's language, most "charitable towards the bulk" of them, to assume their unconsciousness of the treasure committed to their keeping. It seems, therefore, that the less said about this line of argument against Anglican Orders the better. Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones.

But has he not a still more notable argument?

"Catholics," he asserts, "believe their Orders are valid because they are members of the true Church; and Anglicans believe they belong to the true Church because their Orders are valid. And this is why Macaulay's objection tells against Anglicans and does not tell against Catholics.

Where lies the stress of Lord Macaulay's argument?

The whole stress lies upon the pre-Reformation period. His words are—"Whether an Anglican clergyman be a priest by succession from the Apostles depends on the question whether, during that long period, some thousands of events took place, any one of which may, without any gross impropriety, be supposed not to have taken place, and there is not a tittle of evidence for any one of these events." In other words, formal proof of the consecration of the primitive and mediæval prelates may not be always producible. The whole difficulty—if difficulty there is at all—is as to exactly that period where the *onus* of proof lies with Dr. Newman; and the moment we part company there is no difficulty at all. The Doctor is, moreover, entirely wrong if he imagines that our attitude towards the doctrine of Apostolic Succession differs in the slightest degree from his own. Like him, we rely on the continuity of the Catholic Church, and it is only when it is said that we do not belong to the Catholic Church because we have not the succession that we are put on proof of our claim.

Take, in illustration, the following statement from the chapter on Apostolical Succession in Mr. Gladstone's elaborate work on "Church Principles." "The probability of a flaw affecting the present Orders of the clergy is indefinitely minute: and is not increased but diminished at each new transmission of the ordaining power. Upon any supposition, a fault in the ordination of the presbyters takes no effect beyond the lives of those presbyters. One Bishop is to be consecrated by three Bishops, though any one Bishop has essentially the power required. If it be admitted that regular consecration was the general practice, but only insinuated that there may have been here and there an exception through neglect, say, for example, one in 500, for argument's sake let us grant so much; upon this showing, the chances for the validity of the consecration of every one of the three officiating Bishops, in a given case, are:—

:: 500 : 1,

For the validity of those two out of the three,

:: 500 × 500 = 250,000 : 1.

For the validity of some one out of the three,

:: 500 × 250,000 = 125,000,000 : 1.

"If, however, this be not enough, let us pursue the numerical argument one step further, and, instead of taking the original chances at one in 500, let us reduce them lower than perhaps any adversary would demand; let us place them at one in twenty. On this extravagant allowance, the chances in favour of the validity of the consecration of a Bishop who receives his commission from three of the Order, are only

20 × 20 × 20 = 8000 : 1.

"But his own invalid consecration only affects his own acts, and not the general line of the succession, unless when he proceeds to consecrate a new brother, both his coadjutors in the act are under the same incapacity with himself, and the chances, mathematically computed, against this contingency, are as the third power of 8000, or as

512,000,000,000 are to unity.

"Again, with respect to the darkness of the Middle Ages, I apprehend that the high and even superstitious reverence then paid to the office of the priesthood tells positively and most strongly in favour of the succession, because it thus becomes so much the more highly improbable that forms so sacred should have been neglected, that unauthorised intrusion should have been permitted or attempted."

Can you state Lord Macaulay's real opinion on this subject?

It is worthy of remark that though by no means over-much of a Churchman, he was able to repeat by heart the list of Bishops from Linus, the first Bishop of Rome, A.D. 66, to Dr. Wm. Howley, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1828; and that he used to say that "whatever may be the doctrine, there can be no question of the historical truth."

What other wild argument has the Doctor got?

That the ordination service in the Western churches cannot be altered without depriving it of validity; whereas it is certain that there is far less difference between our present and our ancient rite than there was before the great schism between the rite of the East and of the West. "Though the delivery of the sacred vessels," he says, "was not primitive, it was part of the existing rite, three centuries ago, as it is now, and cannot be

omitted without prejudice to the ecclesiastical *status* of those who are ordained without it." Why not? The absence of a ceremony which is pleasing and graceful may or may not be regretted on other grounds, but it has no more to do with the spiritual efficacy of the rite than has the shape of the Bishop's rochet or mitre!

But, adds the Doctor, the actual forms used were not explicit enough.

The actual forms used in accordance with the Roman pontifical, are far less explicit than those either of the Edwardine or of the present English ordinal. The words used at the sacramental imposition of hands for a deacon in the Roman pontifical are these:—"Receive the Holy Ghost for strength, and for resistance to the devil and his temptations." The sacramental imposition of hands at the ordination of a priest is unaccompanied by any words whatever. The pontifical direction is, "*Nihil dicens.*" The words accompanying the sacramental imposition of hands in the consecration of a bishop are simply these:—"Receive the Holy Ghost" ("Accipe Spiritum Sanctum").

What else has the Doctor got to say?

That our Bishops have been heretical for three centuries, and "at the utmost it is only probable that Orders conferred by heretics are valid." Heretics or not, our Bishops have always held the *formula* which the undivided Church pronounced to be a perfect and sufficient criterion of orthodoxy. Dr. Newman candidly mentions numerous cases where persons dying out of communion with Rome have, nevertheless, been regarded as canonised saints. But, says he, such things indicate mere "estrangement"—mere "*amantium iræ*," sooner or later followed by an "amoris integratio." He seems, however, to forget that a "lover's quarrel" has lasted between the East and West for three times as long a period as that between Rome and England, and yet nobody says that the Greek Orders are not valid.

What weight do you attach to the Doctor's presumption that "the very fact that elaborate arguments are necessary in proof of the validity of Anglican Orders," proves that they are more than doubtful?

It seems to me decidedly the least happy he has selected, for more reasons than one. *Why* are these arguments necessary? The circumstance of a fact being questioned does not *per se* afford the faintest presumption even that it is questionable, unless it can be shown *that nobody had any interest* (other than pure love

of truth) *in questioning it.* "Cæsar's wife should not be suspected." True, but I might quote Dr. Newman's own remark in the "Apologia," that though plenty of mud may be thrown at an innocent person, it will not eventually stain, even if it should stick. He would not himself, I suppose, think there was a shadow of stain on the purity of Marie Antoinette, notwithstanding the infamous scandal which has been industriously propagated about her, and which, even in our own day, historical writers think it necessary to meet with "elaborate" disproof. Her character was blackened simply because there were persons whose political or personal interest it was to blacken it. And the attack on Anglican Orders has just the same kind of origin. As a matter of fact, the Jesuit missionaries of Elizabeth's reign, and those who have followed in their footsteps since, *did* think it necessary for Roman interests to strain every nerve to disprove the Anglican succession. Hence, first the scandalous invention of the Nag's Head fable, which there has been some attempt to revive in our day. When that was too much blown upon for any respectable writer to be able to use it, the mare's nest about Barlow's consecration was thrust to the front, though even if his consecration could have been disproved, it would have had no real bearing on Parker's, for of the Episcopal Orders of his three other consecrators there can be no doubt. When that broke down, the Doctrine of Intention was attempted to be worked in a way which, if it proved anything, would shake the validity of every sacrament in Christendom. Dr. Newman "would consider a decision of the Holy See, or of an Œcumenical Council, in favour of Anglican Orders equivalent to a demonstration of their validity, on account of the 'divine gift' intrusted to them respectively." To look for "infallibility" about historical evidence is about as wise as to look to "infallibility" for an answer to the historical question, whether or not St. Peter was ever at Rome?

Has he any other stone in his bag to fling at the Church of his Baptism?

He has nothing to allege against the Church of England but "the unhesitating verdict of the world." Well, that verdict has no doubt been given, but it has been against the Papacy. Has Dr. Newman appealed to the judgment of mankind? Then to the judgment of mankind he must go. If the Church of England is to be unchurched, stripped of her Orders, denied the possession of valid sacraments because men in general call the churches of the

Papacy "Catholic," why is not their judgment equally to be taken as the oracle of God when it pronounces the Papacy to be the inveterate foe of human progress, enlightenment, and happiness? If Dr. Newman replies, "Because men in general know nothing about the Catholic Church," we retort, "Then of what value is their opinion upon the question of Catholicity?"

What have you to say to the charge that Parker's consecration was illegal?

Some of the more reckless of our opponents, as we have before observed, in default of any other mode of attack, have been bold to say that the records of the consecrations of Archbishop Parker and his colleagues were forged. I can only say, if they were, that the whole Church and nation were concerned in the forgery; seeing that, within seven years afterwards, the statute of 8 Elizabeth, c. i. § 2, distinctly appeals to them.—(Gibson's Codex, 122.)

The charge of illegality is this: the ordinal used had been enjoined by name (5, 6 Edward vi. c. i. § 5, 6), and this statute had been repealed in Queen Mary's reign; and the statute 1 Elizabeth c. ii., which repealed the statute of Queen Mary, did not mention the ordinal by name but only "The Book of Common Prayer, with the Order of Service, and of the Administration of Sacraments, Rites, and Ceremonies;" therefore, say they, the ordinal was illegal. It is a heinous offence, indeed, if the thing is so: and we are thus proved, by the cavils of some of our opponents, not to deserve the appellation of an Act of Parliament Church, which others of them throw in our teeth. But still it is to be feared this objection, like the rest, must fall to the ground; when it is considered that our ordinal is as much a part of our Book of Common Prayer as our Sacramentary, that it is all spoken of as ONE book, in the singular number, in our canons (36); that if ordination be not allowed for a sacrament, yet that none can deny its being a rite and ceremony, and as such it is included by letter in the statute (1 Eliz. c. ii.) as we have seen. (See also Gibson's Codex, 121).

On the authority of Parliament, then, it appears that the consecrations were strictly legal.

But did not the caution of the Queen's advisers guard further against all such like cavils as this?

By a clause inserted in the Commission, which she issued for the consecration, she undertook by her own authority to be respon-

sible for and to make good any *legal* defects, if any such should occur ; "supplying by our sovereign authority all defects either in the execution, or in the executors of this commission, or any of them."

Has not even this been distorted into an objection?

Yes ; it has been made to imply that the form of the ordinal of 1549 was insufficient to convey orders. Had it been so, no English Churchman would have supposed that Queen Elizabeth could have made up for any such deficiency. (See Article xxxvii.) "We give not to our princes the . . . Ministering of the Sacraments." The Queen's declaration referred only to possible *legal* defects, such as those which Bonner pleaded from an Act of Parliament (1 Ph. and Mar. 11. 2), against Harme's title to the see of Winchester. To represent the Queen's declaration as intended to supply the defects of the ordinal in conveying spiritual grace is too absurd to be treated even as a disingenuous artifice. (See Haddan, "Ap. Succ.," pp. 187, 289.)

In what sense is the Monarch Supreme Governor of the Church?

On her accession Queen Elizabeth refused to take the title of "Supreme Head" which two of her predecessors had borne, and contented herself with the modest title of "Governor." The meaning of the term when given to Henry VIII. was, that there were competent powers in England to settle and decide all matters in either Church or State, without going to any foreign power, either Emperor or Pope—that as there were two legislative Courts, civil and ecclesiastical, there could be no need to carry appeals abroad. It did not mean that any power was then given, or had before been possessed by the King to settle the doctrine of the Church, to alter her constitution, or change her discipline. The idea of the Royal Supremacy was to give coercive effect to the law, civil and ecclesiastical ; and to enable the Courts to enforce their judgments by temporal penalties. The Church, as the Body of Christ, has no coercive powers over the persons or property of her members ; her powers are spiritual ; when, therefore, coercive powers are required they must be asked of the Supreme power in the State. Thus the monarch becomes Supreme Governor of the Church.

The Convocation of the province of Canterbury, in the twenty-seventh of Archbishop Warham, on February 11, 1531, passed, "unanimō consensu," the following declaration : "Ecclesiæ et

cleri Anglicani, cujus singularem protectorem, unicum et supremum dominum, et (quantum per Christi legem licet) etiam supremum Caput, ipsius majestatem recognoscimus." (Wilkins, iii. 724). The Convocation of York did the same. Yet among them all, *only one thought it his duty to protest against the Act of Convocation which, in* 1531, *severed England from the Papacy;* viz. Tonstall, Bishop of Durham (Lingard, iv. 273). "The oath of supremacy was taken by Fisher of Rochester; and in all probability by Reginald Pole." (Hardwick, *Ref.* p. 192.)

But how was it that the Bishops of Rome came to possess the vast influence which they certainly wielded from a very early time—thereby gaining the opportunity, which was afterwards so shamefully abused, of becoming "lords over God's heritage"?

The answer is quite clear; and the genealogy of the modern Papacy is as historically certain as any deduction from the records and monuments of past ages can possibly be. It is this: The *political* consequence of Imperial Rome during the first four centuries of our era gave its Bishop the *primacy* among all Bishops (Thierry, "Cinquiéme Siècle," p. 484). The primacy of this (supposed) Petrine Church generated, in ignorant hands, the legend of St. Peter's *princedom* among the Apostles; the legend of St. Peter, in dishonest and designing hands, generated the papal *supremacy* of the Middle Ages; and the papal supremacy of the Middle Ages has generated, at last, the Jesuit theory of the personal *infallibility* of the Roman Bishop, whereby he has been transmuted into an Oriental caliph, or a Thibetan "lama"—the whole system grounded on mistakes and subsisting by forgery—"perfectly gangrened with fraud" (Gratry ii. 72), for which there is no better term than "Popery."

That extraordinary parallelism between the ceremonies, the history, and even (in some respects) the doctrines of Buddhism and Romanism, which has been the *despair* of some Romanists (F. Schlegel ascribed it to demoniacal agency) and the *hope* of others (Père Huc longed to exhibit the rival attractions of "the pompous festivals of Catholicism:" "Travels" ii. 194), has now, at length, received its completion by the act of the late Vatican Council.

How do you account for the origin of the first schism in the Church of England?

In looking back on the events of Elizabeth's reign, we see the

origin of the first schism in the Church of England, that, namely, of those whom we now call Romanists; we see that it was caused not by any act of the Church of England, but by an act of the Pope, when he excommunicated the Queen. It must, however, be noted that the formation of the Roman Catholics into a communion distinct from the Church was brought about by external means, not internal—that is, the deprived Bishops did not ordain or consecrate others to succeed them; on the contrary, foreign priests were introduced, and foreign colleges founded to provide others. Had the Pope not excommunicated the Queen, there would probably have been no schism, for, down to this act, all communicated at the parish churches. The number of those who resigned rather than accept the new book was very small—in all 175. This fact requires some comment. There is a general notion that when Mary came to the throne the Protestant ministers of the reign of Edward VI. were turned out, and Roman Catholic priests put in their place; and again, when Elizabeth succeeded, the Roman Catholic priests were turned out, and Protestant ministers put in. Nothing can be more contrary to fact. Only six in the Lower House of Convocation opposed the restoration of the unreformed worship; and only 175, if so many, resigned when Elizabeth's Book was brought into use. It was the same Church and the same priesthood that did this: there were not two bodies, as there are now, the Church of England and the Roman Catholic community; there was one Church, the Holy Catholic Church, of which the Church of England was, and still is, an integral portion. How, then, are we to explain this seeming changing about from one religion to another? Were the clergy so unprincipled that they would accept any religion provided they held their benefices? It would be unjust to think so. There was only one religion, as there was only one Church; that religion was in its essentials one and the same throughout, in non-essentials there was much dispute and contention. Two parties with conflicting opinions opposed each other, just as there is now one State of England and one Parliament, but there are two parties, Liberals and Conservatives: sometimes one rules, sometimes the other. One party opposes the passing of a certain law, or the adoption of a certain line of policy, but when it is passed, all alike accept it and act upon it. So it was in the Church.

An argument has been based on the fact that, at the time of the Reformation, certain Bishops were styled simply "Reverendus,"

whereas they ought to have been described as "Reverendissimus," and were consequently not consecrated, or not Bishops; what reply can you make to this argument?

In the words of Prebendary Walcott,—"With regard to the respective titles of Deans, Archdeacons, and Bishops, it may be safely urged that custom has been by no means uniform in former centuries. At Chichester, Dean Thomas, who died in 1672, is called "Vir Reverendus," at Worcester even a Bishop, Dr. Skinner, who died in 1672, is simply styled "Rev. in Xto Pater," while Dean Eades, about the same date, is commemorated as "Reverendissimus vir et dominus," another Dean, also named Thomas, who died in 1662, is styled on one monument erected whilst he held the Deanery "Reverendus decanus," and the same person, after he became a Bishop, is styled "Admodum Reverendus in Christo pater," at Salisbury, Bishop Ward, who died in 1688, is described as "Reverendus in Xto pater," while Bishop Tonson, who died in 1621, is styled "Reverendissimus."

Give Dr. Von Döllinger's opinion of Anglican Orders?

"The Ordination of English bishops since the Reformation was attacked at first with fables which are now exploded (the so-called Nag's Head story), and then with various objections, which partly rest upon thoroughly unsupported presumptions, and partly, if any weight could be given to them, would call in question just as well, or with even greater weight, the ordinations of Roman Catholic Bishops and priests. Everything turns on the question, whether Archbishop Parker and his consecrator, Bishop Barlow, were validly ordained. The ordination of the latter was only called in question when eighty years had passed (1616); but the testimony to it is as complete as that to almost any historical fact of which no exactly official record is extant. Witness is borne to Parker's consecration not only by all his contemporaries, but also documentarily, so that even Lingard raises no syllable of doubt against it. In the Western Church before the Reformation, things have happened which are calculated to awaken far more serious scruples against the unbroken succession and the validity of many ordinations than all that has been advanced respecting English orders. At one time the Popes repudiated the ordinations to Bishops and Priests of their own predecessors (Constantinus and Formosus), and, besides, for centuries, through irretrievable confusion, they declared a countless mass of ordinations to be invalid, partly on account of simony,

partly under the pretence of schism or of adhesion to counter Popes. But the worst of all was, that, following out their ignorant scholasticism, they changed the Matter and the Form of the Sacrament of Ordination, on which, according to their own teaching, all the virtue and validity of the act depend. Pope Eugene IV. declared in his decree, which was issued in the name of the Council of Florence, and which bears quite the form of a solemn dogmatic decision, that the Matter of the Sacrament of Ordination was the vessels or instruments, and that the words of the Bishop when he used the same were the Form. Thereby the imposition of hands and the formula bound up with it, which alone for a thousand years in the Western Church constituted the scaramental act, were degraded to an unessential ceremony, which might be omitted without any detriment to the powers and authority conferred by the act, somewhat as the ceremony of giving salt at baptism. The thought obtrudes itself irresistibly upon us that, in many cases, and especially at large ordinations, the Bishops who have imbibed the new papal doctrine may have omitted the act which is held to be unessential."

There are still a few more objections to Anglican Orders made by Canon Estcourt. What is the authority of his book?

In the preparation of the work which has occupied ten years, its author has been assisted in various ways by many of the leading members of the Anglo-Roman body. It has been subjected to a special censorship. It may, therefore, be regarded not merely as a private treatise, but as in some sort a manifesto on the part of those who submit to the authority of Rome.

What then is the result of this great work?

The result may be thus summarily stated—it pronounces half the case against Anglican Orders to be groundless and in fact absurd; and it supports the other half with reasons so weak and so easily refuted, that we cannot but regard the treatise as a virtual surrender of the whole matter in dispute.

What does he say to Parker's consecration?

He holds that there cannot be the slightest doubt as to the fact of Parker's consecration in the manner described in the Archbishop's Register: but he objects to have the Nag's Head story called "a putrid fable;" for he says that some ignorant Romanist seeing the Bible brought forward at Parker's confirmation at Bow Church in order that the proxy of the Archbishop might take the oath of allegiance, somehow confounded that proceeding

with the ceremony of laying the Gospels upon the neck of the elect in the Latin ordinal: and he thinks that the legend of the Nag's Head ordination was so natural an accretion upon this blunder, that it did not deserve the epithet in question.

What has he to say about Barlow's consecration?

He has a great deal to say; but it really comes to very little. The register of Barlow's consecration happens to be missing; and Mr. Estcourt thinks it possible that he may never have been consecrated at all, and he labours with very great success to prove an *alibi*. Unfortunately, however, the proof that Barlow was not in London only comes down to the point where the *utile tempus* begins. The case stands thus: On the 16th of January 1536, Barlow was elected Bishop of St. Asaph's; and on the 10th of April, Bishop of St. David's. He was confirmed in person at Bow Church on the 21st of the same month, after which he set off to Scotland. The embassy of which he was a member returned to London by about the feast of St. Barnabas, Sunday, June 11th. On that day Sampson and Reppis were consecrated Bishops of Chichester and Norwich. On the 12th the former took his seat in the House of Lords, and on the 17th, the latter. On the 30th Barlow took his seat, and on the 11th July, Fox, Bishop of Hereford. Now it appears that Bishops are entered on the Roll of the House not in the order of taking their seats, but in the order of their consecration. Thus Fox, who had been consecrated in the September previous, but who had been out of the country, appears not only above the three mentioned but above two others who had taken their seats before him. More cogent proof of Barlow's consecration between the 11th of June and the 30th cannot well be conceived, because it shows that consecration was a matter that was looked after by heralds and Court officials as well as by clerics and theologians. Moreover, Convocation was sitting from the beginning of June till towards the end of the month following, and Barlow undoubtedly took his seat in the Upper House. It seems impossible to suppose that the members of that House would have admitted amongst them one that had not received consecration, for it is not denied that some of them at least did not accept the Erastian views either of the King or of Cranmer.

There is a further argument which must have weight; for one of the reasons which is alleged for being satisfied that the consecration of Parker really did take place, is the fact that the Govern-

ment were taking the greatest pains to make that consecration as regular as possible.

There are two kinds of negative testimony which are so cogent as almost to amount to positive evidence to the fact of Barlow's consecration. One of these is the absolute silence of all contemporary authorities, and the utter absence of any contemporary documents, which can be even tortured into giving support to this theory. This singular unbroken silence can only be accounted for by rejecting the whole figment of the non-consecration of Barlow. But there is another kind of negative proof that is also very valuable. From the time when it was first questioned or denied until the present moment, from Dr. Champney down to Mr. Estcourt, there have been no serious difficulties discovered in the way of our belief in the reality of Barlow's consecration; no argument advanced, beyond such childish ones as Barlow being sometimes called Barlowe, and "Menevens" being printed "Menivenc." But surely with all the zeal which has been displayed, and the ability which has been exerted to throw suspicion on this fact and to build up an opposite theory, some plausible argument would have been discovered which might at least have suggested a reasonable doubt about Barlow's consecration. Such, however, remains for the skill of future controversialists. And there is one little fact that will materially increase the difficulty of future controversialists — the discovery by Mr. J. S. Bailey in the State Paper Office of letters (seven MS.) of William Barlow Bishop of St. David's, all bearing upon acts of his own during his occupancy of that See, and in addition a most valuable State Paper addressed by John Barlow (brother of the Bishop) to Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal, which speaks of the Bishop's installation and enthronisation at St. David's in terms which place the *quæstio facti* of Barlow's consecration beyond a doubt. And it may further be noted that in Lord Calthorpe's library is a MS. collection of documents drawn up by Thomas Argall, a well-known public notary of the period, some of which evidently belong to the time of Warham and Cranmer, and which were probably prepared for insertion in the Registers of those prelates. *It is possible, therefore, that the record of Barlow's consecration may still exist*, though it has not yet been discovered. Up to the present time the fact is as unshaken as any other fact in history, and the kind of suggestions which have been offered to induce us to discredit the documents which remain to attest the consecration of Barlow, would overthrow our belief in and cast discredit upon

any or every fact in ancient or modern times. That is to say, we believe the current events of history on far slighter grounds than we have to believe in the consecration of Bishop Barlow, and the difficulties in the way of being confident about this consecration are fewer and of less weight than might be imagined, and urged against the most undoubted of all truths. We mention this, we confess, with some anxiety, because it affects interests even dearer to us than the fact of the unbroken succession of the British Episcopate. Mr. Estcourt and his friends have given their sanction to the weapons of infidelity by using them to throw doubt upon the facts of history.

To say the least, it is highly impolitic as well as dangerous to make use of weapons which might, on other occasions, with deadly effect be turned against those who used them. The weapons are double-edged; they may cut away in some minds their trust in one class of truths, but it will be by destroying their confidence in all.

Was there any possible motive in excusing Barlow from the necessity of being consecrated?

If, indeed, the King and the Archbishop had really been desirous of acting upon their supposed disbelief in consecration, they would have *systematically* dispensed with it; but why they should have had Bishops consecrated on the 11th of June, and Barlow's own successor at St. Asaph on the 2d of July, and yet should *in the interim* have got up so gross and deliberate a fraud as to pretend that Barlow had been consecrated when he had not, is perfectly beyond comprehension. Besides, it is not suggested that Barlow objected to the ceremony—he only held as a speculative opinion that it might not be necessary. Thus, he was afterwards charged with having stated in a sermon, preached some five months after he had taken his seat in Parliament and Convocation that—

"If the King's Grace, being supreme head of the Church of England, did choose, denominate, and elect any layman, being learned, to be a Bishop, he so chosen, without mention made of any Orders, should be as good a Bishop, *as he is*, or the best in England."

The argument would have sounded just as well without the "*as he is*," and it is impossible to see why those words should have been inserted if Barlow had not been conscious that his Episcopal status was perfect at every point.

And if Mr. Estcourt's estimate of Barlow's character is in the least degree accurate, he would have been the last man in the world to run any gratuitous risk—and Gardiner, Lee, Stokesly, and others who were not disposed to be too friendly to him, to the very last, never did question his status.

But if Barlow's consecration is so doubtful to Roman Catholics, can you show from Roman authorities that Parker's consecration is yet all that it should be?

The four Bishops who consecrated Parker were Barlow, Hodgskin, Scory, and Coverdale. Barlow and Hodgskin were both consecrated in the reign of Henry VIII., and therefore by the unreformed order; Scory and Coverdale were consecrated in 1552, and therefore by the reformed. Supposing there could be any doubt of the consecration of the two latter, there can be no doubt of that of the two former; and we know that a consecration by one Bishop is sufficient. But the validity of Scory's consecration was fully admitted, for Bonner, Bishop of London, in the reign of Queen Mary, admitted him to the performance of all Episcopal functions without re-consecration. And this is only in accordance with a brief of Pope Julius III. to Cardinal Pole, giving authority to reinstate Bishops, thus consecrated, "that they may rule and govern the Church, both in things spiritual and temporal, *and use the gift of consecration already bestowed upon them.*" This, of itself, settles the question of the validity of the Orders of the Reformed Church of England—they have been acknowledged by Bonner.

How does Mr. Estcourt commence his attack upon the English ordinal?

By quoting a decision which will be news to many English Churchmen, and for which they will hardly know how to thank him enough. It was originally given by the "Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office," on the 9th of April 1704, but it was confirmed so lately as the year 1860, when the facts were a second time submitted to Rome for judgment. It seems that in Abyssinia it is, or was, the custom to ordain several thousands of persons at one time. For this purpose the Abuna, passing along them, lays his patriarchal cross upon the head of each person to be made a deacon. In the case of those who are to be advanced to the priesthood he imposes his hands upon each with the words "*Accipe Spiritum Sanctum.*" In consequence, however, of the confusion and haste which prevail, this rite, simple as it seems, is not always accurately performed: and the "Sacred Con-

gregation" ruled as follows:—"The ordination of the deacons in the manner described is invalid; but in the case of the priests the form is sufficient when it is properly gone through, and the candidate must not be re-ordained. If he cannot remember both whether the words were said and the Abuna's hand laid upon him, he must be re-ordained conditionally; if he recollects that either was omitted he must be re-ordained absolutely."

In what consists the great value of this decision?

The great value of this Abyssinian decision is, that by the ruling of Rome herself, a Church may cut down its ordinal to the bare act of laying on of hands with the words, "Receive the Holy Ghost," and, providing that all is done that it was intended to do, the ceremony is sufficient to confer Sacerdotal or even Episcopal Orders. Mr. Estcourt has thus disposed for ever of a whole school of controversialists who used to insist that the delivery of the *instrumenta* was absolutely indispensable to the validity of ordination. Indeed, he has thrown his own ranks into the direst confusion and dismay.

What fault, then, can he find with our ordinal?

He says it is insufficient because it lacks the right "intention."

What is his definition of "intention"?

"The intention requisite for the valid administration of a sacrament is the *intentio generalis faciendi quod facit ecclesia.* Hence a sacrament conferred with the correct Matter and Form by a heretic, or even an atheist, is valid, if he intends to do what the Church does—and not especially the Roman Church, but the *Church in confuso*, even though he might not believe in the reality of the sacrament. And supposing the Form be clear and genuine,—and the tenor of the words is preserved in its integrity, even if the Form were changed with an erroneous or heretical intent,—the sacrament would still be valid. For no amount of heretical statement would invalidate it, provided that he intended in a general way to do what the Church does, and that he does not overthrow or destroy the legitimate sense of the words" (p. 149).

A good deal of nonsense is often talked about the so-called "doctrine of intention," but it is a bugbear which might frighten children. The intention is evidenced by the act itself. What motive leads the Bishop to lay on his hands, and to offer the prayer? None other than that of doing what the Church does,

and what Christ ordained. Mark well here what the Church does, the Church Catholic, East and West, of the first, as of the nineteenth century, not Roman, or local, but Catholic, *ubique.*

After reading this definition of "intention" we may be excused if we rub our eyes and ask, What need of more words? And yet we must inquire what is the difference between Anglican and Roman Churches in this matter?

The Roman doctrine of "intention" is that a Bishop or Priest, when administering any sacrament, must at the least intend to do by his action what the Church intends, and that if he do not, then the sacrament is invalidated by his *inner* dissent. The Anglican teaching is that the Bishop or Priest is only the agent of the Church, and cannot invalidate her acts at his mere will, unless by openly departing from the use of the valid Matter and Form. His private opinion is no more important than in law the belief of a judge in the innocence of a prisoner whom a jury has convicted. The judge, in such a case, has to pronounce sentence, and his private dissent from it cannot affect the prisoner's condition. Of course, the practical issue of the Roman doctrine is that there is no security for any sacrament whatever in the Roman Church, for no one can tell whether a priest really means to baptize or consecrate, or whether he be a priest at all, as the Bishop who ordained him may not have really meant to ordain him, nor have been himself validly consecrated!

What objection to our ordinal has Mr. Estcourt after this? What objection can he possibly have?

He has a general objection which, speaking of the priesthood, he states thus:

Every idea is excluded, (1.) Of the Divine election to the function of the Presbyterate. (2.) Of the dignity of the Presbyterate being a gift of God. (3.) Of the power of Sacerdotal or Spiritual grace being bestowed with the benediction of the Holy Ghost. (4.) Of the ordaining Bishop offering the candidates to be consecrated in the sight of God.

How far is this true?

It is not a little curious to find Mr. Estcourt setting the reformed and unreformed services in parallel columns, and after showing that the former is almost entirely taken from the latter, denouncing it as something radically different! He is speaking of forms which are substantially identical, but by dint of sheer audacity of statement he would make the same language highly mystical

when it is used by the Church of Rome, and no better than the language of a schoolmaster appointing a monitor when it is used by the Church of England.

You have given Rome's judgment on the essentials of ordination, what is the judgment of the Greek Church?

"Under the denomination of Order as a Sacrament, is understood a holy action, in which, by means of the laying of the Bishop's hands on the head of the person chosen, together with prayer, divine grace is bestowed upon him which . . . . places him in a certain degree of the Church's priesthood." (Macarius, "Theologie Dogmatique Orthodoxe" tome ii. p. 584; see also Dr. Guttée in his "Exposition of the Doctrine of the Orthodox Church," p. 147; also Philaret in his larger Catechism, &c., &c.)

Can you bring any historical facts to show that the Prayer Books of Edward VI. and Elizabeth were understood in no new sense?

1. Acording to Mr. Froude, the number of absolute recusants amongst 9500 beneficed clergymen did not exceed 200.

2. And of all the Irish Bishops *only two* were deprived, and two others resigned on the accession of Elizabeth, on account of their adherence to the See of Rome. The validity of the Irish consecrations has never been disputed.

It is quite true that several Irish Bishops were present at the Council of Trent; Thomas O'Herlihy, Bishop of Ross; Donatus Mac Congail, Bishop of Raphoe; and Eugene O'Hairt, Bishop of Achonry, took part in the discussions. And Wauchope, Archbishop of Armagh, "the blind bishop," who was forced by the Pope into the place of Dowdall during his lifetime, was present at some of the latter sittings; but these three Bishops are in the Council described as Pius IV.'s Bishops, and they, therefore, must have been appointed between 1560 and 1568. The two Bishops, who, in 1560, refused to sanction the removal of the Pope's jurisdiction, were Walsh, of Meath, and Leverons, of Kildare. With the exception of these, all the Irish Bishops remained in their respective Sees, and from them, in conjunction with Archbishop Curwen (who was consecrated by Bonner and other recognised Bishops, according to the Roman Ritual in Queen Mary's reign), the present Bishops have derived their Orders. Dr. Studdert has shown how carefully the Irish consecrations were attended to. (See Archdeacon Lee's "Letter to Archbishop of Dublin," 4to, 1866, p. 36.)

It seems, therefore, that for Queen Mary's clergy to have accepted with all but perfect unanimity the reformed Liturgy, is a testimony to its essential Catholicity which no criticism can empty of its force. Mary's conduct had served to alienate the people not only from herself, but from her religion, especially in the matter of the Papal supremacy: so much so that the accession of Elizabeth was hailed with as much satisfaction as Mary's had been. A new edition of the Prayer Book was quickly issued, in which many of the doctrines and ceremonies, ejected in the Second Book, were restored. Of this Book a Roman Catholic thus speaks: "It must be admitted that the Book of Common Prayer has retained many Catholic features; that the rites of the Church of England when solemnly administered have some approximation to the ancient service; and that the old priests who used the present Communion Service *with intention* consecrated most truly" (Pugin, p. 21). In fact, so completely did the clergy accept the Book that only 80 rectors, 50 prebendaries, 15 masters of colleges, 12 archdeacons, 12 deans, 6 abbots and abbesses, among the clergy, refused to conform—175 in all. Probably all the prebendaries and archdeacons were also parish priests, and are included in the 80 rectors. We have thus only 80 parochial clergy and 33 dignitaries: about 100 out of 10,000 parishes; about one in every hundred who resigned rather than conform. Besides this, we know that until the eleventh year of Queen Elizabeth, all, both those who acknowledged the Papal Supremacy and those who were content with that of the Crown, attended and communicated in the parish churches. The former only left when the Pope excommunicated the Queen.

In 1560 the Book of Common Prayer was rendered into Latin, chiefly, it is said, that a copy might be presented to the Pope, Pius IV. In the same year this Pope sent a letter by his envoy, Vincent Parpaglia, addressed "To our most dear daughter in Christ, Elizabeth, Queen of England," urging her to acknowledge his Supremacy. This Parpaglia seems to have been entrusted with full powers to effect a reconciliation between the Pope and Elizabeth. Camden, the historian, says, "It is reported that the Pope, Pius IV., promised through the Abbe Vincent Parpaglia, his secret envoy to Elizabeth, that he would confirm the English Liturgy by his authority . . . . provided she would give herself to the Church of Rome and acknowledge the Primacy of the Roman See." In 1569 Pope Pius V. excommunicated the Queen.

Although we have, as we hope, proved, beyond the possibility of cavil, the validity both of Anglican Orders and of the English Liturgy, is it quite judicious to leave the matter here; otherwise, might not Churchmen be assailed with an argument which they are themselves in the habit of using with great effect against dissenters?

It is not: for just as we say to Nonconformists, even if "you do not think much of Apostolic Succession, you must admit that a man need be none the worse minister of God's Word for having it: why then run a perfectly gratuitous risk of 'perishing in the gainsaying of Korah'?" So Romanists might say, and they do say—"Granted that your Orders may possibly be valid, nobody doubts ours; why content yourself with what is at best only probable, when you might exchange for what is certain?"

But while there is no answer to our argument against dissent, there is a very obvious and conclusive rejoinder to the argument of Romanists against us. It is this:—"If our Bishops are real Bishops (and we have shown that on Roman principles that cannot be doubted)—if they represent not only the line of St. Augustine in the South, but the immemorial succession of the Celtic churches in the West and North, it is manifest that no one can withdraw from communion with them in favour of a line intruded so lately as the year 1850, without incurring the guilt of the most heinous schism. *It is no case of preferring the certain to the probable; it is the wilful rejection of the certain for that which is not at all likely.*"

What then does Canon Estcourt's work—The Question of Anglican Ordination discussed—amount to?

Passing by some smaller matters we sum up the case as follows:—

1. It used to be alleged that Archbishop Parker was never consecrated at all: and that there was only a sort of sham ceremony at a tavern. It is now admitted that he was consecrated at Lambeth Palace, and that every possible care was taken to secure the regularity and validity of the proceedings.

2. It used to be said that Barlow, the chief consecrator, had himself shirked consecration. Mr. Estcourt has shown by extracts from the journals of the House of Lords that anything of the kind would have been as impossible as it would have been motiveless.

3. It used to be said that the reformed ordinal was invalid by reason of defect. Mr. Estcourt has shown that it is, and always has been, far more full than necessity requires.

4. It used, in like manner, to be alleged that the English Liturgy was invalid; but Mr. Estcourt, by the very nature of his criticism, has shown that it is at least as valid as the Liturgy of Rome. As a matter of fact, it has been cleared from many deformities from which the Latin service is not free.

5. We might go further and dwell on the dignity which the Liturgy has gained from the participation of the whole Church in the act of the priest; but we have said enough.

6. Mr. Estcourt's work admits the truth of the historical facts of the consecration of Parker, but denies that Anglican Orders are valid. He is bound to do so, otherwise he would have to admit that Roman Bishops and Priests are intruders, and exercise a wholly uncanonical jurisdiction. He admits, too, that all that is essential to ordination is the laying on of hands, with the words, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." He admits that this is so ruled by the Congregation of rites at Rome; he admits that this form appears in the Anglican Rite; yet he denies that Anglican Orders are valid. In this difficult position he has recourse to "grave doubts:" he has "grave doubts" about the consecration of Barlow; "grave doubts" whether the word *priest* means priest; "grave doubts" as to the intention of the ordaining bishop; "grave doubts" whether the omitting of the delivery of the sacred vessels to the ordained priest be not a denial of the doctrine of the priesthood. In fact, this author finds himself driven into a corner and all his weapons taken from him, but he feels compelled to make a show of fighting.

Answer Mgr. Capel's objection to the Edwardine ordinal.

Mgr. Capel's objection to the Edwardine ordinal, in use from 1552 to 1661: viz., that it is invalid because it does not specify the Episcopal Office, in the words used at the actual moment of consecration, when the laying on of hands takes place, and is intended only for persons who are unaware that the very same peculiarity occurs in the Roman Office now in use, and which was employed when the Pope himself and Cardinal Manning were made Bishops. The *only* words used at this point in the Roman Pontifical are "*Accipe Spiritum Sanctum.*"

It is quite true that the English ordinal between 1552 and 1661, when it was revised as it now stands, did not mention the "work of a priest," or "work of a bishop," at the *actual moment* of laying on of hands; but the intention was clearly stated before and afterwards in the Office, and it is not true that it must be

named at this exact point, for there is no divine nor ecclesiastical precept for so doing, as there is in the case of Baptism. In fact, if it were true, the Roman Catholics would have no bishops at all, for the only words ordered to be said by their pontifical at the moment of consecration, when the hands are laid on, are—"Take the Holy Ghost." So, too, the argument that the Reformers meant *presbyter* and not *sacerdos* by the word *priest*, is of no use in a Roman Catholic's mouth, for in the Roman Catholic ordinal the word *presbyter* is given the preference. The office is called "Ordination of Presbyters," and the candidates are spoken of as raised to the "Presbyterate." As to the "Roman Catholics being only too glad to recognise Anglican Orders if they could," the truth is that they would be only too glad to deny Eastern Orders if they could. But as they treat the Easterns, with their undoubtedly valid Orders, just as badly as they do us, raising up altar against altar, and creating schisms, we may judge what difference it would make if they could not even pretend to pick holes in our system.

"I have examined in turn every objection made to them (*English Orders*), and it has seemed to me that Roman Catholic controversialists took up easily any objection which might for the moment serve their turn. Cardinal Wiseman laid all aside, and took up the ground of jurisdiction. But this objection presupposes the truth of Ultramontanism. The Metropolitical See in each country has inherent jurisdiction, according to the ancient canons. Parker was left in undisputed succession of the See of Canterbury, and his successors have the jurisdiction inherent in that See. Du Pin, when satisfied as to our Orders, felt, as a Gallican, no difficulty as to jurisdiction. . . . Bossuet says, 'This holy and Apostolic doctrine of the Episcopal jurisdiction and power proceeding immediately from, and instituted by Christ, the Gallican Church hath most zealously retained.' Therefore that very late monition, that Bishops receive their jurisdiction from the Pope, and are, as it were, vicars of him, ought to be banished from Christian schools as unheard of for twelve centuries." (Def. viii. 12 in Allies, p. 428; note to pp. 270, 271. The Rev. Dr. Pusey's "Eirenicon.")

"If, therefore, that ordination is alone to be called canonical which is in accordance with the ancient canons, undoubtedly ordination in the Anglican Church can claim to be so; if the first canon of the Apostles declares, 'Let not a Bishop be ordained except by three Bishops;' if the Council of Arles says, 'With less

than three let them not dare to ordain;' if the Nicene canons say, 'Let the ancient custom prevail;' if the Council of Sardis declares, 'Let not a Bishop be ordained without three Bishops;' if (to omit many others) the canons of Seleucia order 'any Bishop ordaining without three Bishops to be deposed;' if, as history tells us, in the Church of Rome these canons have been violated not once but often; if, moreover, as we have already shown, the use and custom of the Church from the beginning has been that ordination should be performed by imposition of hands and prayers, as to Matter and Form, yet without any special form of words as 'de necessitate,' which by some schoolmen only is required; if the Church of England retains this Matter and Form, and always has retained it, as her ordinal proves: if this be so, then nothing is in any way wanting to a true and valid ordination, and our Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, are truly and rightly ordained." ("Defence of Holy Orders," p. 47, by Rev. T. J. Bailey, B.A.)

"How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel! As the valleys are they spread forth, as gardens by the river-side, as the trees of lign aloes which the Lord hath planted" (Num. xxiv. 5, 6).

CHAPTER IX.

PAPAL SUPREMACY AND INFALLIBILITY.

It is a common assertion with Ultramontanes that, the Pope being infallible, nothing can be ordered without his sanction first obtained. What do you say to this?

I say it is jumping at conclusions very rapidly. The Gallicans down to the late Vatican Council never admitted the papal supremacy. And this supremacy was never admitted in England, no, not for a day. The Anglican Church was never subject to such supremacy; never acknowledged anything more than the primacy of that See, resting on the old synodical constitutions. In fact, England never had a "Roman Catholic" sovereign until James II. became such, and lost his crown in consequence.

Never was England worse trampled upon by the See of Rome than in the days of King John; yet that was the epoch of *Magna Charta;* and its first words proclaimed the freedom of "the Church of England"—not of "*the Church of Rome* in England," —much less of "*the Roman Catholic Church* in England,"—a Church of which nobody ever heard until after Queen Elizabeth's accession and the Popish recusancy.

Cardinal Manning says :—"The appeal *from* the living voice of the Church to any tribunal whatsoever, human history included, is an act of private judgment and a treason, because that living voice is supreme; and to appeal from that supreme voice is also a heresy, because that voice by divine assistance is infallible. My critics have universally evaded and suppressed the premiss—that the supreme voice of the Church is divine. I have seen much misrepresentation of my argument, but I have never seen an answer. Unless the premisses can be refuted, no answer can be made. And this I believe to be the reason why it has been

so studiously misrepresented" ("Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost," p. 226).

Can you refute the Cardinal's premisses?

His syllogism is what is technically called a syllogism in *Barbara*.

A All which is the supreme voice of the Church is divine.

A Every utterance (*ex cathedra*) of the Pope is the supreme voice of the Church.

A.·. Every utterance (*ex cathedra*) of the Pope is divine.

This is absolutely correct in form, nor would a sound churchman find any difficulty in admitting the major premiss.

The minor premiss, however, is an assertion requiring proof.

Can you disprove this minor premiss?

I should do so by a syllogism in *Festino*.

E No divine utterances are self-contradictory.

I Some papal utterances are self-contradictory.

O Some papal utterances are not divine.

The papist conclusion is—

A Every papal utterance is divine.

Z_o This we prove is contradictory.

O.·.Some papal utterances are not divine.

But how do you prove your minor premiss?

By citing some examples of self-contradictory papal utterances.

Was Liberius, the Pope, in accord with subsequent papal utterances when he condemned Athanasius? Or Zosimus (Pope) when he approved the Pelagian confession of Cœlestius? Was not Honorius (Pope) *anathematised by the Sixth General Council?*

Is the Cardinal ignorant of Bossuet's list of fallible Popes?

Can a fallible Pope be the Divine Voice?

Give an example of this living voice of the Church which is also Divine.

When Sixtus V. issued his deplorably incorrect edition of the Vulgate in 1590, he prefixed a decree to it, in his own name, by the plenitude of his apostolic power, declaring that it must be received as legitimate, authentic, and undoubted, without any hesitation or debate, *throughout the whole Christian Commonwealth.* This is the Pope *ex cathedra* teaching the world, it seems to us, fully within the terms of the Vatican decree. Nevertheless, the edition is so grossly faulty—we believe there are about 2600 blunders in it—that it had to be speedily withdrawn from circulation, and few books are rarer than copies of it with the worst

errata pasted over with fresh slips. Cardinal Bellarmine cleverly evaded, in the next two Pontificates, any express condemnation of the Sixtine decree, but it was really annulled by Gregory XIV., within two years of its promulgation. Does not this overpower the defence set up for Pope Honorius, that he was not teaching *ex cathedra?* How beautifully this illustrates the practical value of an infallible Pope to take care of the Bible!

Dr. Newman alleges in his "Grammar of Assent" that "Bible religion is both the recognised title and the best description of English religion. . . . The reiteration again and again, in fixed course in the public service, of the words of inspired teachers under both covenants, and that in grave majestic English, has in matter of fact been to our people a vast benefit. It has attuned their minds to religious thoughts; it has given them a high moral standard." On the other hand, in the remarkable "Experiences of a 'Vert," which appeared in the "Union Review" for May 1864, the following passage occurs:—"I have come from a communion (the Anglican) where both the translation of the Scriptures and the public prayers—the private books of devotion and the standard treatises of theology—are the perfection of English. . . . and, literally, I scarce know a Roman Catholic work, for daily use, bearing on religion that I can read for an hour together without having my susceptibilities painfully wounded by its bad English. . . . I say boldly, that I consider our [R.C.] English version of the Scriptures a public disgrace, and one to which I cannot tamely submit. I will never part with my Anglican Bible for any other in the same language, till I can be supplied with one at least as good in that respect. Why am I to have my devotional feelings rudely shaken in my daily readings by some coarse rendering that excites my aversion, or some ignorant rendering that excites my contempt, or some ridiculous rendering that sets me laughing in spite of myself?" It may be retorted that these two opinions are mere regrettable survivals of early prejudice in men born and reared outside the Roman fold; but that plea will not serve. Apart from the fundamental objection that the Douai Bible is only a translation of a now long-corrupted translation, with but occasional reference to the originals, the fact is that a secret, unacknowledged, and gradual process of toning down its English, and chiefly in the New Testament, into nearer conformity with the authorised version has been going on these hundred and fifty years, and notably by the hands of Haydock, Lingard, Kenrick, Nary, and Challoner, the last-named of whom made in 1749

a great many serious changes, involving quite as much in principle as the revision now on foot amongst ourselves. As for Nary, he says, in 1719, of the Rheims and Douai versions, that "the language whereof is so old, the words in many places so obsolete, the orthography so bad, and the translation so very literal, that in a number of places it is unintelligible, and all over so grating to the ears of such as are accustomed to speak, in a manner, another language, that most people will not be at the pains of reading them." Lingard's revision, issued anonymously in 1836, was faintly praised by Cardinal Wiseman, but let drop quietly as a whole. These are little facts which are not taught in the seminaries where controversialists of Mgr. Capel's calibre are so trained that, while they may succeed in leading captive silly women, and even sillier feminine men, they are apt to make an exposure of themselves in the eyes of scholars who have read both sides of the question at issue. The defects of the Douai Bible have been so painfully felt, that a scheme for its thorough revision, if not for the issue of an entirely new version, by a commission under Dr. Newman's presidency was, not long ago, seriously entertained. The following extract from the Rev. G. S. Faber's work, "The Difficulties of Romanism," bears on the Roman addition to 1 Tim. iv. 1 in the Bordeaux Edition :—

Writing on the subject of infallibility (ed. 1853, p. 17), Mr. Faber says :—

"Rome claims that, while all other churches have declined from the Faith, Rome *alone* has preserved it pure and undefiled ; and, thence, that Rome *alone* is the true Catholic Church gifted under that aspect with the privilege of infallibility and inerrancy.

"It was this principle, I suppose, which led to the shameless interpolation of 1 Tim. iv. 1 in the Bordeaux translation of the New Testament. 'In the latter times some shall apostatise from the faith of *Rome*.'

"To an ignorant person this interpolation, exhibiting the true animus of Popery, produces the sufficiently plain result : not only that the faith of Rome was the true faith, but, likewise, that while other Churches might apostatise from the true faith, Rome *alone*, to the very end of time, never would or could.

"The Romanists themselves seem to be ashamed of the gross dishonesty of this translation ; for, apparently, by buying up and destroying it, the book has become extremely scarce. One copy will be found in the Chapter Library of Durham, and it was believed that not more than one or two other copies were in exist-

ence. It has recently, however, as I learn from my friend, Sir Henry Martin, been ascertained that ten copies are still extant."

By what arguments would you dispose of this Infallible Supremacy?

1. By the historical fact that it originated in the *false decretals* —now acknowledged even by Romanists to be utterly untrue.

2. By the historical fact that different Bishops of Rome have taught contrary matters of faith, and that in the case of the heretic Roman Bishop, Honorius, his condemnation was repeated by successive Bishops of Rome for many centuries.

3. By the historical fact that our Blessed Lord did not say that the Catholic Church was the same thing as the Roman Church, and that actual communion with the Bishop of Rome was essential to salvation.

4. By the historical fact that such men as St. Augustine and St. Cyprian died in separation from communion with the See of Rome—*the Church of Africa* in point of fact *never submitted to Roman supremacy.*

5. By the historical fact that there are abundance of passages in the Bible directly opposed to it.

6. The Catholic Church never taught it, the early Roman Church did not possess it, the early Roman Bishops even spoke against it (Gregory I.). If afterwards they began to establish it, it proves that it was not known at first, else no need for attempting to set it up.

7. The four great Councils—Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon—are entirely opposed to it. It was not even a Roman Bishop who presided over the first, and it was against the urgent entreaty of a Roman Bishop that the last was called; and some of their decrees are directly contrary to Roman Supremacy.

8. Because, when the early heresies arose, Roman Supremacy was not called on to suppress them, no one voice speaking with infallible authority to rebuke them; but Councils were called independently of Rome's command or wish.

9. Because, though we believe in a visible Church we hear not of, nor see, the necessity of a visible head. Having the Holy Ghost, the Comforter and Guide, working in the members and especially in the ministry of the Church, we cannot see what a Bishop (who may err) could do for us as the supreme visible head that the Romanists imagine him.

10. Because the Church existed before there was a Bishop of

Rome at all, and therefore can exist now with equal ease without him, as it had to do when the See of Rome was vacant, or when more than one Pope reigned at a time, and when the Pope was a heretic and a reprobate.

11. Because, to make it act invariably, we must either postulate the omnipresence of the Pope, that he may be at hand when any difficulty arises, or infallible apprehension of the truth on the part of every member of the Roman Church, either of which lands us in an absurdity.

12. Because the most powerful of all the Popes, Gregory VII., Hildebrand, knew nothing of the present Ultramontane doctrine of Peter being the Rock (St. Matt. xvi. 18, 19); for as Cardinal Baronius relates (ad. ann. 1080, vol. xi. p. 704, and see Matthew Paris, ad. ann. 1077), when he deposed the Emperor Henry IV., he sent a crown to Rodolphus, with the inscription in a hexameter verse, "*Petra* dedit *Petro*, Petrus diadema Rodolpho," where the Petra of the Church is distinguished from Peter, and is Christ.

13. Because it is evident from the fact that the Holy Ghost, speaking by St. Paul in Canonical Scripture, says, that St. Peter, *the first Pope*, *erred* (Gal. ii. 11), and if he, an inspired Apostle, *erred* after his illumination, what does historical fact say of Popes Liberius and Honorius, and of others as heretical as they were immoral?

14. Because the dogma of infallibility is perverse in its nature, and fatal in its consequences. That it is utterly perverse in its nature is manifest, since it is contrary to the Bible. That it is fatal in its consequences is proved by the "Old Catholic" movement. It is proved also in the precautions which have been taken by European Governments, Roman Catholic and Protestant, against the Pope. They have been compelled to take steps to guarantee their people against the pretensions and encroachments of Rome. The Pope's temporal power stood for twelve centuries. It was the oldest power in Europe, in spite of 125 armed Italian revolutions to get rid of it. But what was impossible to Italian statesmen and soldiers and patriots for twelve centuries was possible to God. On the 17th July 1870, the Pope was declared infallible, and on the 28th September of that year, the Pope was no longer a temporal prince. Two months had sufficed in the hands of God to overthrow the oldest power in Europe.

And the following pertinent question *apropos* of the late Encyclical may here be asked:—

Why does infallibility personified seek to strengthen its own

authority by citing the dicta of Apostles, Saints, and Fathers? Does his Holiness himself doubt or suspect that "the faithful" doubt the truth of the most recent dogma of his Church? The letter is addressed, not to heretics, but to "all Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Ordinaries in favour and fellowship with the Apostolic See."

St. John mentions at least four ways of *trying the spirits:* 1st, JESUS CHRIST, come in the flesh; 2d, the unction from the Holy One; 3d, holiness of life (1 John iii. 7, 8); 4th, The "hearing of us," namely, of Apostles and other Ministers. Whatever the precise value of these tests, and others which the Apostle mentions, may be, the earnestness with which he recommends them serves to show that the idea of following a *rule* of faith, and not merely a guide, was, in his mind, no heresy. The same applies to the innumerable notes of heresy and antichrist, with which Christians are so amply supplied in the New Testament. The shoals and quicksands would not be so accurately mapped out, if the pilots were absolutely infallible. When a chart is given, it is implied that it is to be used. But how is it to be used, or what is the necessity of it, if there is always a pilot whose voice is simply to be heard, but never tested?

Of the entire sufficiency of the Creed as the test of all heresies, Leo the Great says:—"The short and perfect confession of the Catholic Creed, stamped with as many sentences as there were Apostles, is itself so furnished from the heavenly armoury, that all the opinions of heretics may be cut in pieces by its own single Sword" (S. Leonis Magni. Epistolæ xxi., § 4).

See, again, St. Chrysostom, on Ephesians iv., how he labours amid the difficulties of preserving unity in an Episcopal system, exhorting, admonishing, threatening, and saying everything but *the one thing*, which, on the Roman theory, would make all plain, viz., *that the Apostolic Church is not an Episcopal system of many Apostles, but a Papal system of one.* So the numberless rhetorical expressions in St. Athanasius, in which, while he deplores the confusion of the times, he consoles himself with the reflection that "these things have been preached from the beginning, and this Creed the Nicene fathers confessed, and to these the suffrages of all the churches have been added, and the whole world maintains the Apostolic Creed" (Athanas. "Epist. ad Jov." § 2),—expressions entirely superfluous, nay, most vague and needlessly perplexing, if he had known any single See which could claim to be the Divinely-appointed Rock and Sole Pastor of the flocks. And

so, more remarkably still, the minute prophecies of St. Paul and St. John with regard to antichrist, the man of sin, &c., *marks* which, on the Papal theory, are worse than needless, for they divert the mind from the *single infallible test* of the Roman See.

"We," says St. Chrysostom (Ephes. iv. 16), "have *no dominion over your faith*, beloved, nor command we these things as your lords and masters. We are appointed for the teaching of the Word, not for power, nor for absolute authority. We hold the place of counsellors to advise you. The counsellor speaks his own sentiments, *not forcing the hearer, but leaving him full master of his choice upon what is said:* in this case alone is he blamable, if he fail to utter the things which present themselves." No one, I think, can read the history of those times, or observe thoughtfully the mode of teaching exhibited in the innumerable homilies of the Fathers, without coming to the conclusion that *faith was exercised and grew up in the hearts of Christians, then, by patient hearing of many witnesses, rather than by implicit submission to one.* And further that the doctrine of infallibility, lodged in the living teacher alone, makes the application of force not an accident, but *a logical necessity* of the Roman system. So long as a child is in that condition, that he *simply hears the voice of his parent, and has no other way* to distinguish between good and evil, the parent has not only a right, but it *is his bounden duty* to coerce the child. This is the condition of believers in Roman Catholic countries. For which reason, force is as logical a deduction from their system, as gentleness and persuasion were from that of the early Church.

The single fact of a treatise like that of Vincent of Lerins being written at the time when, after three General Councils, and after the days of Cyprian, Athanasius, Augustine, and Chrysostom, the mode of arriving at the truth ought to have been so well settled, is conclusive as to those early ages. That a learned man, if he held the modern Roman theory, should have to "*inquire* with earnestness, &c. . . . how to discern the Catholic truth from heretical pravity," is extremely improbable. That having inquired, he should be able to recommend nothing better for "himself, or any other person," than the *difficult threefold rule* (*Universality*, *Antiquity*, *Consent*), is absolutely incredible. The book of Vincent, therefore, is one of those "fixed facts," which there is no way of setting aside. It must be proved that his rule is identical with that of *testing* everything by *hearing* a Roman Catholic priest, or it must be admitted that this plain and simple test was, for the

first five centuries, and when the Creed itself and even the Holy Scriptures were at stake, absolutely unknown.

Dr. Newman has argued, against the natural inference from the slight regard shown to Papal decisions, first by the Eastern bishops, in the controversy with regard to the time of keeping Easter, afterwards by Cyprian and others, and finally (when the Papal claims reached their acme) by the whole Oriental Church, *that no empire establishes itself without resistance and rebellions.* This is true of human despotisms, which invariably grow by a chain of successive usurpations. But in all divinely-appointed governments, *the first governors* are those whose sway is most absolute, and their powers most clearly defined and universally acknowledged. Thus Moses and Aaron governed more absolutely and with clearer evidence of divine authority than any of their successors. The Apostles, likewise, had no indefinite or vaguely comprehended authority. The early Bishops, as is abundantly shown in their writings, were not slow in *comprehending the nature of their authority, or of defining it to the comprehension of others. It is the Papal infallibility alone* (the most necessary to be clearly understood of all others, on the Roman theory, as upon submission to it the very exercise *of faith* depends) which required ages to make it clear; which, during all the fearful controversies of the first ages, was only half understood; and which, at last, was no sooner asserted in a distinct and unquestionable form, than half of Christendom rejected it as the harbinger of Antichrist.

Papal infallibility introduces into the Church an element of *lawlessness.* It makes the voice of the Pope absolutely the voice of God. It discourages the use of Holy Scripture. It hides its service behind a veil of mystery in an unknown tongue. It removes the Church from the broad, four-squared basis of twelve Apostolic foundations, and sets it upon the narrow pyramid-apex of *one.* It makes one man's judgment an ample reservoir for "the fulness of Him who filleth all in all." Whereas the Apostles themselves showed their respect for law, and set a limit to their otherwise unrestricted authority, by determining nothing of importance, except in the wholesome bonds of a "General Council" (Acts xv.), thus establishing the Church, from the outset, upon the old commonwealth basis of tribes governing in common, with no absolute head but God: the Papal system acknowledges one on earth, who rises above law; who, in the plenitude of power, is the sole judge of controversies; and is in such a sense master of faith, that nothing is faith which is not received through Him.

The infallibility which resides in the Church as "the body of Christ," is made in Holy Scripture to depend not merely upon the preservation of a certain unity of organization, but upon the preservation of "the unity of the SPIRIT in the bond of peace." Thus our SAVIOUR prayed that "they all might be *one*" in such a way, that the *world* might believe in their Divine mission. But to men of the world, to heathen, and infidels generally, there is no such unity as this. The unity of Rome fails to command reverence, *because it is a unity of earthly empire; it is a despotic unity.* It has cost more of force and policy to maintain it than the unity of any great dynasty that has ever arisen, as it has caused more bloodshed than has ever stained any dynasty on earth. Its type is not a mountain *growing*, and peaceably covering the earth. From the time of the great division between East and West, it has maintained itself, and spread, precisely as the pagan Empire which preceded it, by that mixture of boldness and address which has enabled it to profit by the passions it has fomented, and to reap the fruit of victories that others have gained, but have not been able to improve.

The principle of Roman Catholics, the foundation and key-stone of the infallibility dogma, *is* TO TEST WHAT THEY READ BY WHAT THEY HEAR, *and that of Anglican Catholics is* TO TEST WHAT THEY HEAR BY WHAT THEY READ, which is the Bible test. *Faith cometh by hearing*, and *hearing itself* is tested and attested *by the Word of God*, which liveth and abideth for ever.

"*Though we* (*the collective authority of the Apostolic College*), *or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached let him be anathema!*" In other words, St. Paul commands the Galatians to test the present teaching by the past, and not the past by the present; that which is now by that which was from the beginning, and not that which was from the beginning by that which is now; what they hear, in short, by what they read, and not what they read by what they hear.

In the same way, St. Peter, after solemnly assuring all who had "obtained like precious faith" with him, of the truth of his testimony to them, and promising to keep them in remembrance of these things during his own lifetime, and also to take measures that they should be kept in remembrance always, significantly adds, "We have also a *more sure word* of prophecy: whereunto ye do well to take heed," &c. (2 Peter i. 12, 21). For though he guards them against "private interpretation," he manifestly makes the written word a co-witness with his own testimony and that

of his successors. Nay, by calling it "a more sure word" he makes it the more reliable test of the two. To those desiring the sincere milk of the Word, the English Church does not say with some, "The Bible alone;" nor with others, "The Church alone." She presents to them, rather, the Bible witnessing to the Church, and the Church to the Bible, in such a way, that to him who walks in the SPIRIT, there shall ever be a voice on the right hand and a voice on the left, which voices, harmonised by the SPIRIT, will say, "This is the way, walk ye in it." To the humble and childlike this will be guidance enough. *The bit and bridle of an absolute personal infallibility would imply that God's children are not to be* GUIDED, *but* DRIVEN.

Wherever the Church guides the humble believer along that well-defined path of baptism, the laying on of hands, the Apostolic doctrine and fellowship, the breaking of bread, and prayer; where the Holy Scriptures are made the heritage of all by reading them publicly in a tongue understood by the people, and committing them frankly to all for private reading; where the creeds are engraved on the heart from earliest childhood, and the mind is enlightened by that SPIRIT, which is sealed to us in baptism: a way is made so plain and straightforward, that the simplest child need not stumble in it. By guiding in this way, the Church reconciles all texts of Scripture, and teaches her children to despise no part of their inheritance, and to ignore no part of their threefold nature. Our blessed Saviour Himself, though He was absolutely infallible, the Sun and Fountain of all truth and faith, desired not to be believed on His own simple witness. "I can of Mine own self do nothing;" such are His solemn words. "As I *hear*, I judge." "If I *bear witness of Myself*, My witness is not true. There is *another* that beareth witness of Me." "The *works* which the Father hath given Me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of Me." "The *Father* Himself, which hath sent Me, *hath borne witness* of Me." "Search the *Scriptures: they are they which testify of Me.*" The faith that receives His visible representatives as He wished to be received, must hear their word in a similar way. It will hearken to the words they speak. It will take good heed *how it* hearkens, and *what it* hears. It will look to their works as well as words. It will test both words and works by Holy Scripture. It will reverence the Church as the House of God, the body of Christ, the pillar and ground of the truth. It will heartily pray for a full restoration of the order and beauty of that house, and for that entire agree-

ment of Christians among themselves, which is a necessary condition of clear discernment of the truth. It will strive for a unity, not of force, not of physical necessity, as when it is made to consist in communion with one visible head; but for that "unity of the SPIRIT in the bond of peace" which was witnessed in the early Church, which bound independent churches together in the bonds of a common faith and fellowship, which was indeed *a sign* to the heathen, and which ever will be a sign: for while union in a visible head is nothing more than the empires of the earth can boast, union in one that is invisible is a proof of God's SPIRIT in our midst, which is of force to convince the world. It will listen to all voices; it will respect all authorities which have any sanction from on high. It will test them each by each. It will wait with patience till it hears that voice of truth, the SPIRIT of all the witnesses, coming through all, and proper to none exclusively, which enables the believer, convinced in heart, and mind, and understanding, to feel assuredly that flesh and blood hath not revealed this faith, but his Father who is in heaven. It is obedient as a child to the voice of truth, but armed in triple mail against falsehood and old wives' fables. It rests upon authority, but upon no single authority short of God. A system which has no dogmatic certainty, but leaves everything in question, is ruinous to the spiritual part of our nature. On the other hand, one that bars the door against all intrusion of doubt, and allows no inquiry, is fatal to the intellectual part.

A system of simple infallible guidance, which enables men to know what to believe without intellectual effort, has its legitimate development in a faith that runs riot into frivolous credulity, while love stands coldly by, apologising for abuses that make Christianity itself a mockery and a by-word. *The Apostles assured men's minds by reasoning;* and the basis upon which they argued was "the faith once delivered," "the gospel once preached," the testimony of Holy Scripture, and common sense (see 1 Cor. xv.) In some things, guided by God's voice; in others by His hand; in others by His eye; in others (as was the case with the Syro-Phœnician woman), by that most perplexing guidance, when everything but the sleepless eye of love will be at fault: when the parental voice seems to say one thing, and the eye to say another! The child who is trained in this way will be eminently blessed—far more blessed than he whose faith has nothing to do but to hear, and hearing, implicitly obey.

The Roman infallibility comes before us with these special marks:

1. The great division between the East and the West, which the growth of absolutism in the Church occasioned.

2. With the stain of bloodshed in wars and persecutions which have never been disavowed; a thing which could never be laid to the charge of the Church before the papal development.

3. With practically that deification of the Blessed Virgin, which Athanasius more than denounced, when he called the worship of a *Creature-Lord* by the Arians a relapse into heathenism, and a precursor of Antichrist (Athanasius' "Historical Tracts," Oxford translation, pp. 129, 141, 292; see also "Treatise against Arianism," pp. 301, 303).

4. With a childishness and an almost heathenish frivolity in all parts of the earth that are subject to the Roman sway. With such signs against it, the argument for it ought to be most full and convincing. It should be indeed a rock. It should be at least as clearly acknowledged, in all ages and parts of the Church, as the authority of Scripture, and the sufficiency of the faith "once delivered to the saints." If such a sure and certain refuge from all danger of error existed as papal infallibility, which should be available in the post-Apostolic times, is it conceivable that the Apostle of the Gentiles should have known nothing of it? And if St. Paul *had* known of it, can it be supposed that when exhorting the elders of Ephesus to beware of the "grievous wolves that would "enter in, not sparing the flock," he would have suppressed the information that an infallible preservative was within their reach? If they had only to recur to an infallible Church at Rome, could he, in common honesty or common humanity, have kept back such a momentous and practical truth? Would he have left the ship to drift unaided when the pilot and compass were at hand?

The Infallibility doctrine is UNTRUE by reason of:

1. The shameful failure of the Popes to discharge the high duties this doctrine compels them to undertake.

2. The fatal confusions which result from despotism,—in the ecclesiastical as well as in the civil sphere.

3. The shocking demoralisation, and inability to understand the serious earnestness of uncorrupted men, which befalls even high-minded persons who surrender to such a doctrine. What sound basis of personal morality, and (by inevitable consequence) what theory, worth calling for a moment "religious faith," can possibly be left to any one, who thoroughly accepts and assimilates the

Ultramontane theory, that one Christian is bound to submit his conscience to another's, "perinde ac si cadaver esset,"—in other words, to commit moral suicide (*cf.* Loyola's "Constitutions," vi. 1, 1558) and that: "Papa tantæ est auctoritatis et potestatis, ut possit quoque leges divinas modificare, . . . cum in terris Dei vice fungitur" (Ferraris. "Biblioth. Canonica," vii. 28, 1780); because: "what *he calls* true and right *is* true and right" (Barnet "Cath. Magazine," February 1871, p. 11). Nay: "si Papa erraret, præcipiendo vitia vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur Ecclesia credere vitia esse bona et virtutes malas: nisi vellet contra conscientiam peccare" (Bellarmine, "De Pontif." iv. 5). Can moral suicide go any further? (See "The Exercise of Faith," by Dr. Mahan.)

Italy has not forgotten that for a thousand years the Church of the seven northern provinces was absolutely independent of the Bishop of Rome, whose jurisdiction, under whatever title, was confined to the ten southern provinces. Italy has not forgotten its St. Ambrose, its Bishop Claudius, its Arnold of Brescia, its Savonarola, its Contarini, its Carnesecchi, its Scipio de Ricci, its Gioberti, its Rosmini. Its more enlightened sons are panting to be delivered from the papal yoke. The ecclesiastical phenomena at this moment presented by that country are most remarkable. We see a Cardinal suspended from his bishopric and deprived of his Cardinal's allowance, refusing to submit to the papal suspension, and publicly reminding the Pope that he is but an equal of the other Bishops, and that there is no higher dignity in the Church than that of the Episcopate. We see a man who was once the theological champion of the Jesuits, after having vainly marshalled 9000 priests to resist the temporal power of the Papacy, still maintaining publicly the cause of the suspended Cardinal, and with it the cause of all Bishops, against the Pope. We see sweeping changes in the popular doctrines, as well as in the discipline of the Church demanded by priests and laymen. We see, in short, a seething mass of awakening thought, of eager hopes, of burning indignation, out of which may spring a wild infidelity, an intensified Popery, violent sectarian division, or a fair-featured National Reformed Church, which the Church of England may gladly embrace as a sister in the faith.

But if Rome be the Apocalyptic Babylon, then are not the Ministers of the Church of England, who derive their Holy Orders from Rome, infected with the taint of Babylon? And is not their ministerial commission therefore liable to grave suspicions:

the validity of their ministrations questionable; in a word, by fixing the stigma on Rome, are we not branding the Church of England?

The Anglican Church does *not* derive her Holy Orders from Rome, but from CHRIST. He is the sole *source* of all the grace which she dispenses in her ministry. And suppose we admit that this virtue flows from Him *through* some who were in communion with the Church of Rome, and that *no* charitable allowance is to be made for those who held her doctrines in a darker age—what then? The channel is not the source, the human office is not the Divine office. The validity of the commission was not impaired by the unworthiness of those through whom it was conveyed. The vessels of the Temple of God were holy even at Babylon; and after they had been at Belshazzar's table, they were restored to God's Altar (Ezra i. 7.) The scribes and Pharisees were to be obeyed *because they sat in Moses' seat* (Matt. xxiii. 2). The Old Testament is not less the Word of God because it has come to us by the hands of Jews, who reject Christ. And so the sacred commission which the ministers of the Church of England have received from Christ, is not in any way impaired by transmission through some who were infected with Romish corruptions; nay, rather, in this preservation of the sacred deposit even in their hands, and in its conveyance to the Church of England, and in its purification from corrupt admixtures, and in its restoration to its ancient use, we recognise another proof of God's ever-watchful providence over His Church, and of His mercy to ourselves.

What is the real meaning of this decree of Infallibility?

The whole Church consists now of a sovereign and 180 million servants, whose first duty is blind obedience, and whom one single act of persistent disobedience of one papal command, or the rejection of one papal doctrine, consigns to eternal damnation.

And so, that "Universal Episcopate," which the greatest of the popes, twelve centuries ago, rejected with abhorrence as a Satanic presumption, has been, in plain words and without any attempt at concealment, made the foundation of the Church Constitution, and thus overthrows the ancient building. That, which Gregory the Great characterised and disclaimed as an attribute of Antichrist, is now taught in the Catechism to children as the chief article of their religion. And the Bishops, who voted for this in Rome, and so cast away their old ecclesiastical dignity as a worn-

out garment, have returned home as papal prefects. The Pope's assumed power is now boundless, being limited neither by human law nor divine right, nor by decisions of former Councils and Popes. The great Roman Church Doctor of the age is Alfonso di Liguori, who lays it down, that if God had not endowed the Pope with this unbounded power, He would not have provided aright for the good government of His Church. "In the whole extent of the Christian world there exists for the Pope no limit whatever, except that which he himself chooses to set." For the whole Christian world, advisedly, because it is now taught in the schools that *all baptized persons are subjected to the Pope*, and are bound to obey him!

The Roman Papacy is endeavouring to act on the popular mind not only by exorbitant claims to abject submission, and almost to divine worship, but by encouragement of frauds and superstitions, of false miracles and apparitions, and pilgrimages to objects of devotion canonised by itself. Rome, which claims dominion in the unseen and eternal world, and thus sways the conscience, is drawing away its votaries from the true faith, and is almost deifying itself, and is revolting the human intellect from Christianity, and goading it to unbelief.

And how are these dangers to be met? Not by civil penalties and legal coercion; nor yet by philosophical theorems or religious protests. No. Enthusiasm cannot be created by such agencies as these. No one is a martyr for negations. Rather they may aggravate the evil. Erastus and Socinus do the work of Hildebrand. Geneva is an ally of Rome.

Humanly speaking, the hopes of Christendom (let us say it with humble hope not unmingled with fear) are with the Church of England, and the churches in her communion in these kingdoms, and in our Colonies and in the United States of America, to which we may add the Old Catholics of continental Europe. No religious communion will be able to stand against the terrible storm which is about to sweep over Christendom, that does not appeal to Holy Scripture as its rule of faith, and which does not hold in its hands an open Bible, and which does not interpret that Bible according to the consent of the Church Universal as declared in the creeds, and that does not preach the Word of God, and dispense the Christian sacraments, by a body of faithful and learned men deriving their commission from Christ and His Apostles, by uninterrupted succession and lawful ordination.

Such a religious society, thanks be to God, the Church of England is. (See Bishop of Lincoln's Charge.)

"Every Pope is undoubtedly a voice, and God's voice; since he it is who has been ordained by God, the living organ of His incomprehensible mind, the incarnate instrument of His inspired Word, the sovereign and infallible teacher of His wisdom and virtue. He is the voice of God speaking in the midst of men. At one time he is the voice of Nature, whose laws he discerns and ratifies; of Grace, whose operations he explains in harmony with their hidden meaning; of Reason, which he illumines with faith; of Created Science, which he completes and exalts with the uncreate; the universal voice of Truth and of Justice which he, and he alone, has the power and the right to diffuse and maintain in the midst of the human race." "This voice has created and sustained the martyrs." "Every pontiff is the perennial voice of God, placed in the world to teach and guide all nations." He is "the heir and minister of all the powers of Christ, Pontiff and Eternal King." The Pope's voice is "a voice of heaven, not of earth, the voice of God, not of man, from which alone proceed the words of Eternal Life." In the perturbations of nature and the revolutions of society God causes His voice to be heard in protest against violence and wrong; "and where His voice resounds there is the Vicar of God upon earth. Nay, rather, he himself is that voice. He is nature which protests, he is God who condemns." "He is the only plank of salvation in the terrible shipwreck of perverted ideas and facts." He is "the one true Saviour of moribund society." He "judges all men;" and in these published discourses we behold "the miracle of his inspired word." "Of his voice he has made preachers through the earth, those who were fortunate enough to hear it;" that is the deputations to which the "discourses" were delivered. "'Repeat,' he has often said, 'repeat to all that which ye have heard; relate that which ye have seen.' As a loud echo, then, living and continuous of the same voice, this volume goes forth through the world."

The book ("Discorsi del Sommo Pontifice Pio IX. pronunziati in Vaticano ai Fideli di Roma e dell' Orbe dal principio della sua prigiona fino al presente"—that is, from the entrance of Italians into Rome till the present time) which contains these astounding assertions amounting to a quasi-deification of the Pope, is published with the Pope's sanction, and has been greeted with applause by the journals of the Roman Catholic world, and

has already been made a text-book of sacred eloquence in some Italian seminaries. No doubt it will soon become the one text-book in all Roman seminaries. All Roman Catholics are now bound to believe as an article of revealed truth that the Pope is *personally* infallible. Three texts of Scripture are all that can be tortured to prove this—while there are at least three hundred to disprove the heresy. Pius IX. has in our time sanctioned three "infallible" heresies.

1. The exemption of the Blessed Virgin from original sin—and this against the testimony of St. Mary herself—"My soul doth magnify the LORD, and my spirit hath rejoiced in GOD my SAVIOUR."

2. The infallible supremacy of the Pope himself.

3. The worship not merely of the human nature (which is itself a heresy) but of a particular organ—the "sacred" *heart*—in the human body which is an exaggeration of that heresy.*

And if these heresies have followed so rapidly one upon the other—not knowing what is to come next—we may well stand aghast when we see *modern Wesleyanism* arriving by a different road at the same wrong conclusions, and justifying its schism because *it had a right to develop itself through its own inherent life.*

Give proofs from antiquity against the Roman Supremacy.

I.—ANCIENT CHURCH HISTORY—EUSEBIUS.

"But Peter, and James, and John, after the Ascension of the Saviour, did not put in any claim for rank, on the ground that they also had been highly honoured by the Lord, but they elected James the Just to be Bishop of Jerusalem," (quoted by Eusebius from Clemens of Alexandria; see Hussey on the "Rise of the Papal Power").

II.—TESTIMONY OF COUNCILS.

The second Council of Constantinople decreed these two things:—1. That no Bishop should invade the diocese of another, but each episcopal province should have its *own* jurisdiction *independent*, according to the Nicene Canons. 2. That the See of Constantinople should have rank next after that of Rome, because it was new Rome. The See of Constantinople was settled to be equal

* See "The Sacred Heart," a Correspondence between Archbishop Manning, D.D., and the Rev. A. Nicholson, LL. D., 1873.

in rank and next in place to Rome by the Council of Chalcedon, in spite of the opposition of Leo, Bishop of Rome.

The Council of Nice says, "Let those ancient customs be in force which concerned Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, that the Bishop of Alexandria should have authority over them, since the like is customary with the Bishop of Rome. So also in Antioch and the other provinces, let the dignities be preserved to the Churches." So that this great Council placed the Roman Bishop only on a level with those of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem; and this, too, as a matter of ancient custom, not of divine right.

The 28th canon of the Council of Chalcedon declares that the Fathers of the Council of Constantinople gave privileges to the See of Rome because that city was the seat of Empire. (Harold Browne, art. xxxvii.)

III.—Testimony of the Early Churches.

The Eastern Church in the time of Polycarp, the African Church in the time of Cyprian, and in the time of Augustine at the Council of Melevis, gave three decisive proofs that Roman Supremacy was then a thing unknown. The early British Bishops told the Monk Augustine, "They owed no obedience to the Bishop of Rome, but were under the Government of the Bishop of Caerleon-upon-Usk, who was their observer under God." The diocese of Milan certainly, in the time of Ambrose, was independent of Rome, and was till the eleventh century. The Eastern Church is independent to this day.

IV.—Testimony of Bishops of Rome.

Anicetus treated Polycarp entirely as his equal. Marcion being expelled from the Church for immorality, by his father, Bishop of Sinope, came to Rome and asked to be re-admitted to communion. He was thus answered :—"We cannot, without the permission of thy honourable father, do this, for there is one faith and one concord, and *we cannot* cross thy father, our *good fellow minister.*"

Gregory said the only head of the Church was Christ, and that "whoever would desire the name of Universal Bishop was the forerunner of Antichrist." Cornelius wrote thus to Fabius of Antioch, "Beloved brother;" to other Bishops, "Be it known to all our fellow Bishops and Brethren." Julius, to Oriental Bishops, "To our Beloved Brethren." Liberius, to Macedonian Bishops, "To our Beloved Brethren and fellow Bishops."

V.—Testimony of the Fathers—Equality of Bishops.

St. Jerome: "Wherever a Bishop be, whether at Rome or at Eugubrium, at Constantinople or at Rhegium, at Alexandria or at Thanis, he is of the same *worth* and of the *same priesthood:* the force of wealth and lowness of poverty doth not render a Bishop more high or more low, for that all of them are successors of the Apostles" (Cont. Evagrius).

VI.—Equality of the Apostles.

St. Jerome: "Equally the strength of the Church is settled upon them" (Contra Jovinian).

Origen: "Are the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven given by the Lord to Peter alone, and shall none other of those blessed ones receive them?"

Cyprian: "Our Lord giveth to all the Apostles after His resurrection an equal power, and saith, As the Father sent Me, so send I you."

Isidore: "The other Apostles did receive an equal share of honour and power" (Hisp. de Off., ii. 5).

VII.—Equality of St. John to St. Peter.

St. Jerome: "Peter was an Apostle, and John was an Apostle, but Peter was *only* an Apostle, John both an Apostle, Evangelist, and Prophet!"

Origen: "If you think the whole Church to be built on Peter alone, what do you say of John, the son of thunder, and of each of the Apostles?

VIII.—Equality of St. Paul to St. Peter.

Chrysostom: "St. Paul was the tongue, the teacher, the apostle of the world."

"He was the light of the Churches, the foundation of faith, the pillar and ground of truth."

None was greater than he; yea, none were equal to him!"

Pope Gregory I: "St. Paul was made head of the nations, because he obtained the principate of the whole Church."

IX.—Equality of St. James to St. Peter.

Epiphanius: "He did first receive the Episcopal Chair, and to him our Lord did first intrust His own throne upon earth."

X.—Testimony of Scripture Interpreted by the Fathers.

None of the Fathers of the early Church interpret the three texts—"Thou art Peter," &c.: "And I will give unto thee:" "Feed My sheep," &c.,—as the Roman divines do now, but all of them who have commented on these passages not only never once hint at the supremacy, they positively speak directly against it in many cases.

St. Jerome: "You say that the Church is founded on Peter, but the same, in another place, is done upon all the Apostles."

Leo, Bishop of Rome: "This power of the keys is translated to all Apostles and Bishops. It was commended singly to St. Peter because the example of St. Peter was propounded to all pastors of the Church."

St. Augustine: "When it is said to Peter, it is said to all, 'Feed My sheep.'"

See Percival's "Apology," &c.; Bishop Forbes' "Explanation of the Thirty-nine Articles," vol. ii. p. 698, *et seq.*, on art. 36; "The Apostolical Succession in the Church of England," by Rev. A. W. Haddan, B.D.; Dean Hook's "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury," new series, vol. iv. pp. 236–254; "The validity of Holy Orders in the Church of England," by Rev. F. G. Lee, D.C.L., the Preface to vol. iii.; Archbishop Bramhall's "Works," 1844; "Defence of Holy Orders in the Church of England," by the Rev. T. J. Bailey; Archbishop Potter on "Church Government;" Dr. Mahan's "The Exercise of Faith;" "Prelacy not Presbytery, the Divinely Instituted Polity of the Christian Church," &c., by Rev. W. Farquhar, M.A.; "English Church Defence Tracts;" "England *v.* Rome," by Rev. H. B. Swete; "English Orders and Papal Supremacy," by Rev. T. J. Bailey; Bishop Coxe of W. New York; Dr. Oldknow; Rev. J. C. Chambers; Dr. Littledale; "Dissent in its Relations to the Church of England," by Rev. G. H. Curteis; "The Priest's Prayer Book;" "Union Review;" "Episcopal Succession in England," by Professor Stubbs; "The True Character of the Church of England," by Rev. George Ingram; "Colonial Church Chronicle;" "The Guardian;" "The Church Times;" "Church Bells;" Rev. T. Allies' "Church of England cleared from Schism;" Dr. Lingard's "History of England;" Dr. Newman's "Grammar of Assent;" Dean Burgon's "Letters from Rome;" Dr. Pusey's "Eirenicon;" "The Difficulties of

Romanism," by Rev. G. S. Faber; Bishop Wordsworth's "Greek Testament;" R. Cecil's "Works," ed. 1838; "Sermons," by Rev. F. D. Maurice; "Church Work;" "The Babel of Sects," by Dean Edwards; "Difficulties of the Day, and How to Meet Them," by Rev. E. S. Ffoulkes; and "Reasons for Returning to the Church of England."

CHAPTER X.

ST. PETER'S ROMAN MISSION.

What is the opinion of Cardinal Bellarmine, the greatest champion of the papacy, on this subject?

"It" (Papal infallibility) "is" (also) "proved in this wise: that God Himself ordered that the Apostolic See should be fixed at Rome. Now what God orders cannot be altered by men" (Rom. Pont. iv. 4).

And again, "The right of succession of the Roman pontiffs is founded upon this:—that Peter, the Lord commanding him (jubente Domino), fixed his chair at Rome, and sat there until his death" (De Sum. Pont. ii. 1).

And that this is, not only the main, but the *sole* ground on which the papal supremacy rests, is acknowledged by the most eminent Romanists themselves, *e.g.*, by Archbishop Kenrick, an American writer of the highest authority,—who, in a work dedicated to Pope Pius IX. in 1848, speaks thus: "The principality of Peter is the real and only source of the dignity of the Roman Church" (Archbishop Kenrick, "The Primacy of the Apostolic See," p. 95, 4th ed., 1855). So, too, Pius IX. himself, in an encyclical "Qui Pluribus," November 1846: "Ubi Petrus, ibi ecclesia: ac Petrus per Romanum Pontificem loquitur, et semper in suis successoribus vivit. et judicium exercet, ac præstat quærentibus fidei veritatem" ("Recueil des Allocutions," &c., p. 178, 1865).

What does the late Cardinal Wiseman say on this subject?

He acknowledges that St. Luke in the Acts of the Apostles, and St. Paul in his Epistles, and some of the early Fathers, are silent on the subject; but he might have added that St. Peter himself and all the early Popes, for the first five centuries after the Apostolic age, are silent concerning St. Peter's Roman Mission.

How does he try to get over this difficulty?

He says his opponents' arguments are founded chiefly upon *negative reasoning*, but that the subject is so universally acknowledged by every communion that argument upon that point is thrown away. (Lect. vii. at Moorfields, A.D. 1836.)

How does the Rev. Dr. Newman, in his work on "Development," discuss the negative argument?

He says that the silence of even contemporary writers, with respect to most remarkable facts, can be no satisfactory proof against the facts themselves: thus Seneca, Pliny the Elder, and Plutarch are altogether silent about Christianity; the Jewish Mishna too, compiled about A.D. 180, is silent about Christianity.

Can you show the several fallacies of this argument as applied to St. Peter's Roman Mission?

a. It insinuates that the presence of St. Peter at Rome was a *fact*, and as genuine a fact as the existence of the Christian religion in Judea in the first or second century.

b. That the silence of St. Luke, St. Paul, and even St. Peter himself, concerning Peter's Roman residence and mission, is parallel with the silence of certain pagan and Jewish writers concerning the historical events of the Gospel.

c. That as some pagan and some Jewish writers of the first or second century did not make mention of Christianity, therefore a valid argument may be raised against the Christian religion, as valid, that is, and at least as that raised against the Roman residence of Peter from the silence of the writers of the New Testament.

d. It is answered, if some of those writers referred to were silent about Christianity, others, their contemporaries, were not, as Josephus and Philo of the Jews, and Tacitus and Pliny the Younger of the heathen. If the Jewish Mishna was silent, the Jerusalem and the Babylonian Targums were not; as even Dr Newman himself acknowledges.

But the silence of either Jewish or pagan writers concerning the history of Christianity cannot possibly be considered a case in point with the silence of the inspired writers concerning St. Peter's Roman Mission, for St. Luke and St. Paul wrote of, and wrote to, the Roman Church, and St. Paul spent some years in the city of Rome, and wrote several epistles from thence. Silence here is eloquence: negative evidence in these circumstances assumes the character of positive and circumstantial evidence,

and proves that the history given of St. Peter at Rome is in reality a fable.

But do Roman divines never use the negative argument themselves? The divines of the Church of Rome affect to despise the *negative argument* in this case, though when it suits their purpose they do not hesitate to teach that "it is very important in criticism to make a good use of the *negative argument.* "Nay, that "it is absolutely necessary in certain positions, in order to destroy mere tales and fables which impostors forge at their pleasure to surprise us" (Mabillon, tom. ii., part 2, chap. xiii.)

Give the Scriptural argument, from the Martrydom of St. Stephen to the death of Herod Agrippa, proving that St. Peter was in Judea and had never left it.

The martyrdom of St. Stephen occurred about the close of A.D. 33. And then all the disciples were scattered abroad "*except the Apostles*" (Acts viii. 1). One of these disciples, Philip the Evangelist, preached the gospel with such success in Samaria that the Apostles at Jerusalem, hearing thereof, SENT Peter and John thither—a pretty clear evidence that at this time neither the Apostles, *nor even Peter himself*, had any idea of the pontificate.

St. Luke seems very particular in recording the fact of the *return* of the Apostles to Jerusalem after their labours in Samaria, while Philip, directed by the Angel of the Lord, continued his missionary career to Gaza, Azotus, and Cæsarea.

The conversion of St. Paul took place A.D. 35. Taylor says (Calmet's Dictionary) that Saul was a military officer in the Jewish Contingent of the Roman army, and had official charge of St. Stephen's execution, which took place about a year before Saul's conversion. St. Paul himself assists in determining the time of his first interview with St. Peter at Jerusalem. "Neither went I up to Jerusalem (on his conversion) to them which were Apostles before me, but I went into Arabia; and then, after three years, I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and I abode with him fifteen days; but other of the Apostles saw I none save James, the Lord's brother" (Gal. v. 17). This visit is also mentioned by St. Luke (Acts ix. 26–30), and must have taken place about A.D. 38. Bellarmine, with this fact staring him in the face, finds himself compelled to acknowledge that St. Peter did not leave Judea for *five years* after the crucifixion.

The following three years, or to the close of A.D. 41, was a period of rest to the Church from persecution, and St. Luke tells

us that St. Peter then preached at Lydda, Saron, Joppa, and Cæsarea.

The conversion of Cornelius took place A.D. 41. Up to this time none of the Apostles, nor even the disciples who were scattered abroad, had preached to any Gentiles; for it is particularly recorded that they preached the Word "*to none but to the Jews only*," even when those disciples travelled as far as Phenice and Cyprus and Antioch (Acts xi. 19).

According to St. Luke (Acts xi. 26, 27), St. Peter could have taken no part in founding the Church at Antioch. It is certain that when the disciples were scattered abroad, while St. Peter was still at Jerusalem, these preachers of the Lord Jesus had great success at Antioch; that the Apostles had thereupon sent unto them Barnabas; that Barnabas went to Tarsus for Saul, and brought him to Antioch; that during a whole year they assembled themselves with the Church, and taught much people; and that the disciples were called Christians first at Antioch.

Dupin, Doctor of the Sorbonne at Paris, termed "a Catholic divine" by Dr. Milner ("End of Controversy," p. 329), observes: "It was in that interval of time, from the year 35 to 44, that we (Roman Catholics) pretend St. Peter founded the churches of Antioch and Rome; but there is some difficulty as to that point, for, as to the church of Antioch, it appears, by the Acts of the Apostles, that it was established by some disciples who, after the dispersion which followed on the death of Stephen, had preached the gospel to the Jews and Gentiles, and it does not appear that St. Peter came to Antioch before the Council of Jerusalem" ("Hist. of the Church," cap. v.)

St. Paul's next visit to Jerusalem was in A.D. 44. While Paul and Barnabas were ministering to the church at Antioch, certain prophets came from Jerusalem, "And there stood up one of them named Agabus, and signified by the Spirit that there should be great dearth throughout all the world, which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar; then the disciples, every man according to his ability, determined to send relief unto the brethren which dwelt in Judea, which also they did, and sent it to the elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul" (Acts xi. 27–30). The events of this chapter as given by St. Luke, completely establish an *alibi* for St. Peter at Antioch up to A.D. 44, the date of the famine therein mentioned.

About the time of this second visit of St. Paul to Jerusalem, the persecution under Herod Agrippa occurred, in which James the

Apostle and brother of John was slain by Herod, and Peter was apprehended, cast into prison, and miraculously delivered. After commanding the soldiers to be put to death, Herod went down from Judea to Cæsarea, and shortly afterwards died, by the judgment of God (Acts xii. 23). Josephus (Antiq. xix. c. 8.) enables us to fix with certainty the time of Herod's death, and therefore that of St. Peter's imprisonment. Herod Agrippa I. died in the fourth year of Claudius Cæsar, or A.D. 44, at which time St. Peter was at Jerusalem, and had not yet left Judea. St. Peter's mission to Antioch and Rome before A.D. 44 is, therefore, disproved by these records.

Give the Scriptural argument proving that St. Peter could not have left Judea before the Council of Jerusalem.

St. Luke states (Acts xii. 17), that on St. Peter's deliverance from prison "he departed into another place." As Herod's power would reach St. Peter more certainly in either Antioch or Rome than in Judea, where he had so many friends, "another place" could scarcely refer to either city.

The locality is not named, because, while it suited St. Peter's purpose of concealment, it was of no interest whatever to the Church of God; and as St. Luke wrote the Acts of the Apostles at Rome A.D. 63, and as he was equally the historian of St. Peter as of St. Paul, he must therefore have had "perfect understanding of all things from the very first."

Does not his silence amount to an express contradiction of the story of St. Peter's departure to Rome after his imprisonment?

That St. Peter had not hitherto proceeded to Antioch to found and establish his spiritual see, as maintained by Bellarmine and others, may be still further shown. St. Luke was not only a native of (see Taylor in Calmet), but a prophet and teacher in the church at Antioch, and would naturally take a particular interest in narrating the history of that church; that history he has left us in the Acts of the Apostles (xii. 19–26; xiii. 1–5; xiv. 21–28, &c.) Why is he so particular in detailing the labours of SS. Paul and Barnabas, and so profoundly silent respecting the labours of St. Peter there, when, as a matter of fact, he mentions a greater number of particular acts of the ministry of St. Peter than he does of St. Paul?

St. Peter was not among the prophets who came from Jerusalem to Antioch about A.D. 42 (Acts xi. 27), one of whom, Agabus, predicted the famine. Nor was he labouring at Antioch A.D.

45, for his name is not among the list of prophets and teachers given by St. Luke (Acts xiii. 1). Nor could he have ever been at Antioch up to the Council of Jerusalem (A.D. 52), or he would naturally have represented the Church of his See, and have stated the case in the Council. SS. Paul and Barnabas represented the Church at Antioch, and when they came up to Jerusalem they found St. Peter there with the Apostles.

The proceedings of that Council, as narrated by St. Luke (Rheims Test A.D. 49, authorised version A.D. 53), furnish very decisive corroborative evidence that up to that time St. Peter had not left Judea, and that, with the single exception of the case of Cornelius and his friends, he had not laboured amongst any Gentiles.

SS. Paul and Barnabas, at the Council, "declared what miracles and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them;" but St. Peter was silent on his Roman mission. He could refer to the case only of Cornelius and his family.

"Men and brethren, ye know how that A GOOD WHILE AGO God made choice among us, that the Gentiles by my mouth should hear the Word of the Gospel and believe." And St. James, the president of the Council, recapitulated the proceedings at the close and delivered the sentence. He defines particularly St. Peter's reference to the Gentiles:

"Men and brethren, hearken unto me, Simeon hath declared how God, AT THE FIRST, did visit the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for His Name." Moreover, the very terms of the decree prove that St. Peter had not laboured in Antioch up to the date of the Council: "The Apostles and elders and brethren send greeting unto the brethren which are of the Gentiles, in Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia." "Forasmuch as we have HEARD that certain which went out from us have troubled your souls, saying ye must be circumcised and keep the law, to whom we gave no such command."

Had St. Peter been labouring at Antioch he would have known *personally*—not by *report* of others. No wonder that the champions of the Papacy exclude the New Testament from the controversy!

The decree was sent to the church at Antioch by SS. Paul and Barnabas, and Judas and Silas, "prophets and chief among the brethren." After Judas and Silas had "tarried there a space, they were let go in peace from the brethren unto the Apostles," showing that the standing Council of the Apostles (including St. Peter)

remained still at Jerusalem for the government of the Church Catholic. But St. Paul went up to the Council "by revelation," *i.e.*, as he himself tells us, not altogether for the purpose of the adjustment of the question concerning circumcision, but to make it known in conference with the Apostles that the Gospel of Uncircumcision was committed unto him, as the Gospel of Circumcision was unto Peter (Gal. ii. 2, 7, 8, 9). And this covenant was ratified by "the right hand of fellowship," the most solemn of all forms of covenanting among the ancient nations (Josephus, lib. xix. c. 9). Had St. Peter, after that covenant, gone to labour among the Gentiles at Antioch or at Rome, he would have broken faith with his brethren, and opposed the Divine Will, by which that covenant was directed.

St. Peter certainly paid one visit to Antioch about A.D. 58, or five years after the Council at Jerusalem (Acts xviii. 22; compare Gal. ii. 11–14), during which time he laboured in Judea. St. Peter's intercourse with the Gentile converts at Antioch showed that *he had hitherto no experience in the government of a Gentile Church.* "When Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed. For before that certain came from James he did eat with the Gentiles; but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision. And the other Jews dissembled likewise with him; insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation. But when I saw that they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the Gospel, I said unto Peter before them all, If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" (Gal. ii. 11–14).

When St. Peter left Judea where should he go, as the Apostle of the circumcision, but "to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," the Jews of the dispersed ten tribes, who were congregated most numerously in the East, in those countries of which Babylon on the Euphrates was the capital?

Josephus, who was St. Peter's contemporary, speaking of the Jews who were at Babylon about his own time, says that they were "in great numbers" (Antiq. xv. 2); and again, "there were several *myriads* of them permanently settled there as emigrants" (xv. 3). And again in another passage, when speaking of the few Jews who returned with Ezra from Babylon, he says, "But the whole people of the Israelites remained where they were, whence it has happened that there are but two tribes subject to the

Romans in Asia and Europe. Then ten tribes still exist beyond the Euphrates to this day—*infinite myriads*, whose number it is no longer possible for us to calculate" (Antiq. xi. 5, xviii. 9).

Now, if St. Paul, as the Apostle of the Gentiles, in accordance with a divine revelation, went to labour in the great capitals of heathenism (Ephesus, Athens, and Rome), was it not meet that St. Peter, having also a divine mission to the Jews, should proceed to the East, to the great capital of the dispersed tribes?

That St. Peter fulfilled this mission we have sufficient proof from his own epistles, written from Babylon, and addressed "To the strangers scattered abroad throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia."

Give the Scriptural argument proving that St. Peter was not at Rome after he left Judea.

5 St. Peter was not in Rome A.D. 53, for the Emperor Claudius commanded all Jews to depart from Rome (Acts xviii. 2). SS. Paul and Barnabas, visiting the various churches with the decrees of the Council, met at Corinth Aquila and Priscilla, Jews exiled from Rome, and lately (recently) come from Italy. St. Peter was not among the banished Jews, or his name would have been mentioned. Aquila and Priscilla, in all their subsequent intercourse with SS. Paul and Luke, do not appear to have communicated any information of St. Peter's labours in Rome: nor is there anything in St. Paul's numerous writings that indicates that St. Peter himself had informed him of his Roman Mission, although St. Peter must have known that St. Paul had revelations intimating that he must bear witness for Christ at Rome. St. Peter was certainly at Antioch the year after the expulsion of the Jews from Rome; but as Antioch was the usual route from Jerusalem to Babylon there is nothing strange in this. St. Chrysostom (A.D. 407) says that Antioch was the caravan route from Jerusalem to Babylon.

It was about this time that St. Paul, Silas, and Timothy (Acts xvi. 6) "were *forbidden* of the Holy Ghost to preach the Word in Asia." On what ground did this prohibition rest? On the ground, no doubt, that Asia and the East were now constituted the especial field of missionary labour of St. Peter the Apostle of the Circumcision, and others of the twelve Apostles. Proconsular Asia was largely inhabited by Jews. St. James the Less, as well as St. Peter, laboured among the dispersed Jews. St. James's Epistle is addressed "To the Twelve Tribes, which are scattered abroad" (James i. 1; 1 Pet. i. 1).

The 1st Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians was written from Philippi A.D. 57, and at that time St. Peter was engaged in his missionary travels accompanied by his wife (1 Cor. ix. 5). He was not, however, at Rome, as appears from the Epistle to the Romans, written a year later than the first to the Corinthians. "Have we not power (right or privilege) to lead about a Christian wife as well as other Apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord and Cephas?" In this passage St. Paul asserts that at that time (A.D. 57) "the rest of the Apostles" (*Rheims Test.*), the brethren of the Lord, and St. Peter, were engaged in their missionary travels, and that they were accompanied by their wives; and he says this of St. Peter particularly; therefore St. Peter was then on his mission. He had left Judea, and for a lengthened period, or he would not have taken his wife with him. About two or three years earlier he was at Antioch on his way to the East. It is concluded, therefore, that St. Peter was at this time engaged in founding and governing those churches around Babylon, the capital of the dispersed Jews.

That St. Peter was not in Rome—could not have been—up to the date of the Epistle to the Romans (A.D. 58) is clear and conclusive. St. Peter is not named in the epistle, nor is it intimated that he was at that time, or at any former time, present in Rome, or that the Roman Church had been either founded or governed by him, which is utterly inexplicable if such had been the fact: for St. Paul makes honourable mention of St. Peter in others of his epistles, placing him on the same level with himself (1 Cor. i. 12, iii. 22, ix. 5; Gal. iii. 7, 8, 9); Epaphroditus is also named in connection with the Philippian Church (Phil. ii. 25); Epaphras with the Church at Colosse (Col. i. 7); Apollos with the Church at Corinth (1 Cor. iii. 6); and Timothy and Silvanus with the Church at Thessalonica (1 Thess. iii. 2).

St. Paul sends salutations in the Epistle to the Romans to no less than twenty-six persons by name (Rom. xvi). If St. Peter had been then at Rome, it is simply incredible that St. Paul should send no salutation to him.

St. Paul was evidently well acquainted with all persons of note, by name and character, that were at Rome when he wrote that epistle. He salutes several of these persons as his "helpers in Christ Jesus," as having "laboured much in the Lord," and two —Andronicus and Junia—"who are of note among the Apostles, who were in Christ before me," while there is no salutation for St. Peter, no recognition of his labours in the Church at Rome,

although he was "of note among the Apostles," and was "in Christ before" St. Paul.

To this embarrassing argument Roman divines reply:

1. That St. Peter had left Rome and gone on his missionary travels to the East; but this admission still leaves the argument on the omissions of St. Peter's name in that epistle, and all reference to his Roman labours, still untouched.

2. Others reply that "St. Paul does not salute Timothy in his Epistle to the Ephesians, nor St. James the Apostle in his Epistle to the Hebrews." The answer is, that at the time St. Paul wrote his Epistles from Rome to the Ephesians, Colossians, and Philippians, *Timothy was at Rome.* The latter two epistles bear the inscriptions, "Paul and Timotheus," and the preface to the Epistle to the Colossians, in the Rheims Testament, states that "the epistle was written about the same time as the Epistles to the Ephesians and Philippians."

And as to St. James not having received a salutation in the Epistle to the Hebrews, it is replied, the Epistle to the Hebrews was not, even assuming it for certain to be the work of St. Paul, a letter addressed exclusively to the Jews at Jerusalem, but rather a treatise composed for the instruction of the Hebrew converts generally, in Palestine and elsewhere.

It may further be remarked that *not only does St. Paul* omit to salute St. Peter at Rome (A.D. 57), *but eight others*, fellow-workers of St. Paul, whose names are given (Rom. xvi. 21-23), among whom were Luke and Timothy, while sending their salutations to the Church of Rome *omit all mention of St. Peter.*

The Epistle to the Romans bears further internal evidence that up to the time it was written (A.D. 57) St. Peter could never have been at Rome; for St. Paul says, "I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift, to the end that you may be established" (i. 11). Had St. Peter been at Rome he would certainly have imparted those miraculous and extraordinary gifts, conferred *especially for the establishment of the Christian religion.*

In the Epistle to the Romans (xv. 20) St. Paul repudiates the idea of "building upon another man's foundation;" and in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (ix. 15, 16), he says his rule was, "to preach the Gospel in the regions beyond you, and not to boast in another man's line of things ('other men's labours,' made ready to hand." This proves that St. Paul would not have written to the Romans at all had they been St. Peter's flock.

Again, St. Paul, in addressing the Roman Church, takes the

very highest ground in reference to his Roman mission: "For I speak to you, Gentiles, inasmuch as I am the Apostle of the Gentiles; I magnify mine office" (xi. 13): "that I should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the Gospel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost" (xv. 16). In this text all the terms are derived from the high priest's office and service, and applied to St. Paul's ministry. Such language indicates the *first* and highest position in the Roman Church, and is claimed by St. Paul on divine authority. St. Paul, and not St. Peter, was therefore the Roman apostle.

St. Peter was not at Rome when St. Paul was taken there as a prisoner on his appeal to Cæsar (A.D. 60, *Rheims Test.*), for the following reasons:—

1. When St. Paul, and Luke who accompanied him, arrived near Rome, "the brethren came out as far as Appii Forum and the Three Taverns, whom when Paul saw, he thanked God and took courage" (Acts xxviii. 16). The former place was fifty-six miles distant from the city, the latter forty-six. St. Peter was certainly not at Rome at that time, or he would have accompanied those Roman Christians to meet his "beloved brother Paul," now a prisoner of the Lord, and coming to Rome a prisoner, yet by divine revelation.

2. When St. Paul had arrived in the city, "after three days he called the chief of the Jews together," and as they proved themselves as ignorant of the first principles of Christianity as they were of St. Paul's history—*only* knowing the Christians as "*a sect everywhere spoken against*"—can it be believed that St. Peter could have so neglected "the lost sheep of the house of Israel," who were his especial charge, as to allow them to remain ignorant of the very elements of Christianity?

3. On comparing the account given of the faith of the Roman Christians (Rom. i. 8, with Acts xxviii. 23–29), it appears that the Roman Church was composed chiefly, if not altogether, of Gentile Christians, excepting those Jewish evangelists of whom mention is made in Rom. xvi., a pretty clear evidence that St. Peter had not laboured in Rome up to that time.

4. St. Paul had numerous visitors; had St. Peter been amongst them, St. Luke would surely not have omitted to notice it, for St. Luke was the historian of St. Peter as well as of St Paul.

5. St. Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house. St. Peter, if Bishop of Rome, would certainly have shown hospitality

to his "beloved brother Paul," instead of allowing him to dwell in hired lodgings for so long a time.

6. St. Paul in his later epistles, *written at Rome*, is silent concerning St. Peter, and this leads to only one conclusion, that neither St. Paul nor St. Luke knew anything of St. Peter's Roman mission.

9 St. Peter was not in Rome A.D. 62 (*Rheims Test.*) when the Epistle to the Philippians was written from Rome by St. Paul, because St. Paul was then *in want*, which St. Peter could not have permitted had he been Bishop of Rome. The Philippians heard of and relieved it by Epaphroditus (Phil. ii. 20, 21, 25). Moreover, St. Paul tells the Philippians that, with the exception of Timothy, "all seek their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's." St. Peter could not possibly have been at Rome, or he must fall under this great reproach. In St. Paul's final salutation to the Philippians he tells them, "The brethren which are with me greet you. All the saints salute you, chiefly they that are of Cæsar's household." Had St. Peter been at Rome this was an occasion on which he could not have failed to mention him.

St. Peter was not at Rome in the same year when St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Colossians, for he associates Timothy with himself in the inscription of the Epistle, "Timotheus our brother." St. Paul mentioned by name several of his fellow-labourers—Tychicus, Onesimus, Aristarchus, Marcus, Justus, Epaphras, Luke, and Demas—and adds, "These only are my fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God which have been a comfort to me" (Col. iv. 11). "These ONLY." Therefore St. Peter was not at Rome.

The Epistle of St. Paul to Philemon was written at the same time and from Rome, and contains salutations from the same persons, but none from St. Peter, and it furnishes confirmatory evidence that St. Peter was not then at Rome. A year later, or A.D. 63, when St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews (Tillemont), St. Peter was not at Rome, for St. Paul sends no salutations to the Hebrews of Palestine, who knew and loved St. Peter, and must have felt great interest in his whereabouts. But St. Peter's name is not once mentioned, which is unaccountable if he was in Rome or in Italy at the time.

10 St. Peter was not in Rome when St. Paul wrote his last epistle from Rome (2 Tim.), written during his second imprisonment and immediately before his death, A.D. 68 (Dupin and *Historical*

Table, Rheims Test.) St. Paul records the kindnesses he had received from Onesiphorus (i. 16–18). Had St. Peter no sympathy with St. Paul? There is no mention of St. Peter having sought out and refreshed him. Was St. Peter, as Bishop of Rome, ashamed of Paul's chain, as the prisoner of the Lord? *Thus the Roman Catholic divines hesitate not to damage the reputation of St. Peter, in order to sustain their Ultramontane theory of the Papacy.*

A final argument, which has all the weight of inspired authority, is founded on the comparative anticipations of death by SS. Paul and Peter, written by them on the very eve of their martyrdom, as universally acknowledged.

St. Paul at Rome.

"For I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight. I have finished my course, I have kept the Faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous judge shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but to all them also that love his appearing" (2 Tim. iv. 7, 8).

St. Peter at Babylon.

"Yea, I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up by way of remembrance, knowing that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle, even as the Lord Jesus Christ hath shewed me. Moreover, I will endeavour that ye may be able after my decease to have these things always in remembrance" (2 Pet. i. 14, 15).

Give reasons showing that St. Peter could not have written his epistles, or either of them, from Rome.

1. There is no internal evidence in either of these epistles to show that they were written from Rome, such as is found in all the Roman epistles of St. Paul.

2. St. Peter gives the plain literal meaning of all other places mentioned in his epistles; he was not, therefore, likely in one instance to use a mystical name, especially as he gave no explanation.

3. There was nothing in St. Peter's letters to excite any apprehension on his part, even if they had been seized by the Roman authorities. St. Paul might have some cause for apprehension, as he was a prisoner at Rome when he wrote some of his epistles, and yet he makes local references, which clearly indicate where they were written.

4. There was, on the contrary, much in St. Peter's letters which would have been very pleasing to the Roman authorities,—subjection of servants to masters, submission to governors, honour to kings, exhortation to patience in sufferings, &c.

5. The order in which the various provinces are named, from N.E. to S. and W., shows the epistles to have been written from Babylon, and not from Rome. St. Peter begins with the nearest Church to Babylon—Pontus,—and continues in geographical order to the most distant—Bithynia: this order would naturally be reversed if the epistles were written from Rome.

6. None of the Apostles at any time used other than literal names of the Churches from, or to which, they addressed their epistles.

7. The name Babylon had never up to this time been given to Rome by any of the Apostles, nor, assuming the early date of the first epistle given by Roman divines A.D. 48, for nearly fifty years afterwards.

8. When the visions of the Book of Revelation were given to St. John in the Isle of Patmos, Rome was not called Babylon in its then fallen and ruined condition, but "BABYLON THE GREAT."

9. St. John applied this name to Rome under prophetic visions. The Book of the Revelation is of a highly mystical character, but St. Peter's Epistles are not mystical, and the figurative language of prophecy is not employed.

10. If, however, Roman Catholic divines will have it that St. Peter called Rome Babylon, they must take all the consequences that follow such an admission in the Book of Revelation (xvii., xviii.)

It is not till the post-Nicene era that the episcopate of St. Peter at Rome is clearly alleged as matter of fact, and the first asserting it is Optatus of Milevi (after 386), who is a great deal more sure of the details than any of the writers of the three previous centuries. His words are: "Thou canst not deny that thou knowest that in the city of Rome the episcopal chair was first bestowed (*collatam*) on Peter, wherein Peter, head of all the Apostles, sat. . . . Therefore Peter was the first to sit in that one chair, which is first in gifts, to whom succeeded Linus, Clement succeeded Linus, Anacletus, Clement."—*De Schism. Donat.* ii. 2, 3.

In the Nicene era itself the only witness of importance is Eusebius (*circa* 338), and great as were his abilities, vast as was his learning, and unique as are his services to Christian literature, the fact remains that he is a singularly untrustworthy writer, and who therefore cannot, in face of the many errors which have been detected in his narrative, be accepted as conclusive upon

any point resting on his unsupported statements. Such is the judgment of critics like Scaliger.

It is St. Jerome (420) who first collects into one body the scattered notices of St. Peter from Eusebius and elsewhere, and gives currency to the story of his twenty-five years' session at Rome, thus: "Simon Peter . . . in the second year of the Emperor Claudius, went to Rome to overcome Simon Magus, and there occupied the sacerdotal chair for twenty-five years, until the last year of Nero."—*De Viris Illustribus*, i.

But (*a.*) no trustworthy document, within six generations of St. Peter's death, is producible, plainly alleging him to have been Bishop of Rome in the received meaning of that phrase, or to have endowed that See in any special manner.

(*b.*) The wording of such evidence as is actually tendered is obscure, doubtful, and contradictory.

(*c.*) A strict and literal construction of its matter leaves no ground available for even a primacy of honour, not to say a supremacy of jurisdiction.

The *whole* of the ante-Nicene evidence now extant consists of *nineteen* passages, for though there is an obscure reference to St. Peter's martyrdom in the Muratorian fragment, it throws no light on the question.

1. St. Ignatius (*circa* 107).—*Epistle to the Romans*, iv.

2. St. Dionysius of Corinth (*circa* 165).—*Epistle to the Roman Church.*

3. St. Irenæus (202).—(*a.*)—*Cont. Hæres.* iii. i. 1; (*b.*)—*Cont. Hæres.* iii. iii. 2; (*c.*)—*Cont. Hær.* iii. 3.

4. Caius, a learned Roman presbyter (*circa* 200), cited by Eusebius, and conjectured, not without probability, to be indeed Hippolytus.—Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 25.

5. Tertullian (*circa* 218).—(*a.*)—*De Præscr. Hær.* 32; (*b.*)—*De Præscr. Hær.* 36; (*c.*)—*Adv. Marcion.* ii. iv. 5.

6. St. Clement of Alexandria (*circa* 220) is cited by Eusebius (see later) as mentioning St. Peter's visit to Rome to contend with Simon Magus.

7. St. Cyprian (A.D. 250).—"Cornelius was made Bishop . . . when the place of Fabian, that is, the place of Peter, and the grade of the sacerdotal chair, was vacant."

8. *Fragment of the* "Pseudo-Hippolytus" (*circa* 250, but in truth a late forgery, borrowed from Origen; see below).—*On the Twelve Apostles.*

9. Origen (254), *Com. in Genesin*, iii., *ap. Euseb. Eccl. Hist.* iii. 1.

10. ARNOBIUS (307).—*Adv. Gentes.* ii. 12.
11. ST. PETER OF ALEXANDRIA (311).—*Epist. Canon.* Can. ix.
12. LACTANTIUS (320).—*De Mort. Persecut.* ii.
13. *Apostolical Constitutions.*—*Apost. Const.* vi. 9.
14. *Clementine Homilies.*—*Epistle to St. James*, i. and ii.

It is to be observed that out of the above *nineteen* passages, *six* only mention St. Peter's martyrdom at Rome, saying nothing whatever of any relation of his to the Church of that city: *three* mention the legend of his contest with Simon Magus as the single interesting fact of his Roman sojourn: *five* name St. Paul in terms of absolute equality with St. Peter in their relation to Rome, but do not define that relation in any way, while one even of these five makes Linus, the first Pope, St. Paul's nominee: *one* speaks of St. Peter as having been a worker of miracles and a successful preacher at Rome, which city another *one* somewhat vaguely describes as his place or see (*locus Petri*): *three* only speak of him as having ordained Clement a Bishop; while there is only *one* of these three who plainly states in express terms his having been himself Bishop there, and having appointed Clement his heir and successor with all his own authority: this one, however, is in the apochryphal *Clementine Homilies*, condemned by Pope Gelasius in the Roman Council of 496, and ever since rejected by the Roman Church as the forgery of heretics.

The *eleven*, or rather *twelve*, following rival views have come down from remote antiquity:—

1. The Apostles, *in their lifetime*, made Linus Bishop of Rome, to whom Anacletus succeeded, and then Clement.—S. Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* iii. 3, 2.

2. Clement is already Bishop of Rome, and presumably ordained by St. Paul *before* St. Peter goes thither.—*Apostolical Constitutions*, vi. 8.

3. Clement is ordained as Bishop of Rome by S. Peter shortly before his own death.—*Clementine Homilies* and Tertullian, *De Præscript. Hæret.* 32.

4. Linus is first Bishop of Rome, *after the death* of the Apostles Peter and Paul, Anacletus second, and Clement third.—Eutychius Alexandr., Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 21.

5. Linus, first Bishop of Rome, is ordained by St. Paul; Clement, second Bishop, after the death of Linus, ordained by St. Peter.—*Apostolical Constitutions*, vii. 46.

6 and 6*a*. SS. Peter and Paul were jointly first Apostles and Bishops at Rome; then Linus, next Cletus, and then Clement.

it being uncertain whether Clement was ordained Bishop by the Apostles in the lifetime of Linus and Cletus, and kept in reserve without a see, to do occasional duty at Rome during the absence of the Apostles on missionary journeys, or ordained by St. Cletus after their deaths, there being historical statements both ways.—St. Epiphanius, *Adv. Hæres.* xxvii. 6.

7. Linus and Cletus, first and second Bishops of Rome, predeceased St. Peter, himself never Bishop of Rome, but merely an Apostle residing there, who then ordained Clement in the third place.—Rufinus, *Pref. in Recogn. Clem.*

8. Linus was first Bishop, Clement second, and Cletus of Anacletus third, according to the current Latin opinion in St. Jerome's day, though St. Jerome himself makes Clement fourth in order.—St. Hieron. *De Viris Illustribus*, 15. St. August. *Epist.* liii. *ad Generosum.* Optat. Milev. *De Schism. Donat.* ii. 2.

9. Cletus and Anacletus (or Anencletus) are two distinct persons, so that the order is, Peter, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Anacletus.—*Roman Breviary.*

10. Linus was *elected by the people* after St. Peter's death, and followed in order by Cletus, Anacletus, and Clement.—Anonymous author of the metrical *Five Books Against Marcion*, bk. iii. (probably St. Victorinus of Pettau,) 303.

11. Peter, Linus, Clement, Cletus, Anacletus.—*Liberian Catalogue*, A.D. 354.

In this Catalogue, drawn up at Rome itself under the Pope whose name it bears, the consular date for the death of St. Linus fixes it in A.D. 67. The two lists in Eusebius (the *Chronicon* and the *Ecclesiastical History*) make it A.D. 79; and these three authorities severally fix the death of St. Clement in A.D. 76, 94, and 100.

The utter discrepancy of these eleven or twelve different accounts of the order of succession shows that no reliance whatever can be placed on the trustworthiness of the early Roman ecclesiastical records, from which St. Irenæus, Tertullian, Eusebius, Optatus, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and the compilers of the Liberian Catalogue and of the original Roman Breviary, certainly; Rufinus, St. Epiphanius, and the compiler of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, most probably, obtained their information. If they could not settle such initial facts as to whether St. Peter is to be reckoned in, or left out of, the numerical account, whether St. Clement was first, second, third, or fourth in succession from

St. Peter, whether Cletus and Anacletus are two persons or one, or whether St. Linus and St. Cletus entered on their office before or after St. Peter's death, it follows that the value of their evidence for St. Peter himself having ever been Bishop of Rome, or having appointed any one to succeed him in his chair and privileges, is reduced to a mere nothing; and yet no other testimony is offered us except this uncertain local tradition, accepted as true by writers at a distance from Rome, who either did not verify their statements by personal examination of the documents, or found contradictory entries (as indeed St. Epiphanius expressly says he did) if they did verify them. And the order which has the largest amount of evidence, such as it is, has not been followed by the Roman Missal and Breviary.

Next, this very carelessness establishes a second fact, that the question was not one of very great importance in the mind of the early Church. The exact details of the succession at Rome, however interesting locally, can have been thus of no greater practical significance to the Christian body at large than those of the order of the Bishops at Colosse or Philippi. No stupendous powers, no unspeakably august inheritance, could have been thought to depend on the regularity and indefeasibility of the Roman claim by orderly succession. And this uncertainty is all the more remarkable when contrasted with the perfectly accurate knowledge we have of the civil chronology of this very time, with the order and succession of names of the Roman Consuls, albeit then mere titular dignitaries, of no greater importance than a modern high sheriff.

Thirdly, if Linus and Cletus were appointed as Bishops of Rome, and predeceased St. Peter, it is clear that he did not divest himself of his "privilege" on their behalf, so that they were in that case Popes without enjoying any specific primacy in consequence—a conclusive proof that the privilege is not necessarily attached to the office. The same argument holds good if Linus was appointed Bishop during the lifetime of St. Peter, but survived him, because even in that case the Apostle must have separated the see from the privilege in his lifetime, and there is no proof that he provided for their reunion after his death. Again, if Linus was ordained by St. Paul—with whom alone the one brief New Testament reference (2 Tim. iv. 21) connects him—he was Pope of Rome without having any claim whatever through St. Peter.

Fourthly, if St. Peter did indeed consecrate any one of the

three, Linus, Cletus, or Clement, as Bishop of Rome, or as intended to succeed him in any capacity, that very fact is fatal to his title to have ever been Bishop of the local See of Rome himself, for the ancient Church knew nothing of coadjutor Bishops, nor of a Bishop resigning his see to another, nor yet of ordaining any one with right of succession. Accordingly, Pope Innocent I. (417), in a letter to the Church of Constantinople, lays down that it was an unheard of thing, never done by any of the Fathers, to ordain any one to occupy the place of another still living, no one having had power given him for that purpose (Soz. *Hist. Eccl.* viii. 26). And, indeed, the Council of Antioch in 341 had decreed, in its twenty-third canon, thus: "It is not lawful for a Bishop to appoint another as successor to himself, even if he be at the close of life; and if any such act be done, the appointment shall be void." It is scarcely probable that such a rule would have been laid down if the Council knew of the august precedent set by the Prince of the Apostles in the chief city of the world. And it is not easy to see how the Council could have helped knowing it, supposing it to be a fact. A similar objection, by the by, refutes that part of the story which makes St. Peter to have been diocesan Bishop of Antioch, and afterwards to have transferred his chair to Rome, for the Apostolical Canons, the General Councils of Nice and Chalcedon, the Synods of Antioch, Alexandria, Sardica, and Arles I., all severally condemn the migration and translation of Bishops; and Popes Damsus and Leo the Great actually excommunicated all Bishops who changed their sees, especially if to a greater and richer city.—Theodoret, *H. E.* vii.; Leo Magn., *Epist.* lxxxiv. 4.

Fifthly, if St. Paul survived St. Peter by a whole twelvemonth, and they two were joint founders and rulers of the Roman Church, in that case, by all maxims of official succession, the whole Apostolic authority there must have been then concentrated in St. Paul's hands, and only he could bequeath it, if it were transmissible at all. The question of the order in which two people, A and B, who are each other's nearest heirs-at-law, or who inherit under each other's wills, happen to die, is often of great importance in the passage of property. For though A and B may be heirs to each other, either by kindred or by testament, it does not follow that X, the next heir of A, must be also the next heir to B, either at law or under a will. B has another heir of his own, Y. Now, in such a case as this, if A die first, B inherits, and Y inherits in turn at B's death. But if B die first,

A inherits, and X takes in turn from him, while Y gets nothing. Apply this rule to the legal claims of privilege with which we are dealing. No Roman authority alleges any one of these three things: (*a*) that St. Paul was Pope, or inherited any Papal privileges from St. Peter, since he is not reckoned as Paul I., that Pope sitting from 757 to 767; (*b*) that any Pope inherited his primacy from or through St. Paul; (*c*) that St. Paul was subject to any other successor of St. Peter during the twelve months which elapsed between their martyrdoms. Nevertheless, one of these three events must, on Roman principles, have happened if St. Paul did survive St. Peter, and the next Pope, whoever he was, succeeded either before or after the death of St. Paul. Here, then, is a flaw in the whole case, which effectually negatives the evidence of the Petrine privileges of the Popes.

Consequently, no tittle of proof is derivable from the fairly copious remains of the ecclesiastical literature of the first three centuries, that St. Peter was ever Bishop of Rome, or that he transmitted the peculiar privilege of supremacy and infallibility to his successors in the see.

1. The historical value of the testimony of St. Irenæus is much weakened by a passage in an earlier part of his great work, where he asserts that all the elders who knew St. John testify that our Lord's ministry lasted from His thirtieth year till He was between forty and fifty (II. xxii. 5), that is, far more than ten years; whereas we have certain fixed chronological data in the Gospels to disprove this view: for the Baptist's ministry began in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar (A.D. 28; or, if that reign be counted from the association of Tiberius with Augustus in the Empire, A.D. 26) and preceded that of Christ. But Pontius Pilate was appointed Procurator of Judea in A.D. 25, and recalled in A.D. 34, and as his government covered the whole period of our Lord's public ministry, the furthest possible range is seven clear years, which would make our Lord still under forty at His death, which is fixed by other data to A.D. 30. And the received view of the Roman Church is that A.D. 29 is the true date, following the statements of Tertullian, St. Clement of Alexandria, Julius Africanus, and Lactantius, thereby rejecting the testimony of St. Irenæus on a point where he must certainly have had more evidence to guide him than in his chronology of the Popes; for although he obtained the latter in mature life, and almost certainly at Rome itself, yet it is clear that the documents there, a very little later, did not agree with his statement.

2. "Sicut et semote passionem Petri evidenter declarat [Lucas], sed et profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam profisciscentis." Here St. Paul's connection with Rome is implied, but not St. Peter's.

3. The practical effect on the Petrine claims of the difficulties above enumerated may be judged by considering how the House of Lords would have to decide on a double claim to an ancient peerage and to a great office of State alleged to be inseparable from it (as the High Stewardship of England once went with the Earldom of Leicester), if the claimant put in ten conflicting pedigrees as evidence, from which it could not be gathered which of three persons in the direct line of descent was grandfather, son, or grandson, and whether there had or had not been two or more of the earliest peers of the line who had never held the other dignity. There could be no result possible save rejection of the claim as not proved. See "Church Quarterly Review," April 1879.

Sum up the whole argument as briefly as possible.

The *à priori* argument is unanswerable: "And He said unto me, Depart, for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles" (Acts xxii. 21); "But the Lord said unto him (Ananias), Go thy way, for he (Paul) is a chosen vessel unto Me, to bear My name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel" (ix. 15); "And the night following, the Lord stood by him, and said, Be of good cheer, Paul, for as thou hast testified of Me in Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome" (xxiii. 11); "For there stood by me in the night the Angel of God, whose I am, and whom I serve, saying, Fear not, Paul, thou must be brought before Cæsar" (xxvii. 23, 24); "For He that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me towards the Gentiles" (Gal. ii. 8).

So that St. Paul was by divine appointment the *Roman* Apostle, and *not* St. Peter. Hence it was so ordered that St. Paul was born a *Roman*, or freeman of the city of Rome (Acts xvi. 37), and, perhaps, to this end also was directed his superior education to that of the other Apostles, and his early intercourse with Romans, as a military officer in the Roman service. The complete absence of any record of these or of like revelations, directions, or qualifications for a *Roman mission* in the case of Peter adds great strength to the *à priori* argument against St. Peter's Roman apostleship; so that, when the whole argument is considered

founded on St. Peter's personal apostolical labours, as narrated by St. Luke in the Acts of the Apostles and by St. Peter himself in his two Epistles, together with the history of the Roman Church from the date of the Epistle to the Romans, for a period of above twenty years, up to the time of the death of St. Paul at Rome, it amounts to a demonstration that *St. Peter never was at Rome.* (See "Bampton Lectures," 1871, by G. H. Curteis; also, "St. Peter Never at Rome," by W. A. Darby.)

CHAPTER XI.

LEGAL EVIDENCE OF SCRIPTURE ON THE PETRINE CLAIMS.

What is the one definite issue, so far as Roman Catholic controversialists are concerned, to which the controversy between the Church of Rome and the Church of England has been limited since the Vatican Council of 1870 *?*

THAT issue is the formal claim first openly put forward by Boniface VIII. in his Bull *Unam Sanctam*, that the Roman Church is not merely "the mother and mistress of all Churches," but that she is the *whole* Church, the sole legitimate offspring and heir, so that wheresoever in the course of Holy Scripture or of the Fathers "the Church" is spoken of as clothed with any graces or privileges, the meaning is absolutely limited to the Church in communion with and under the authority of the Pope of Rome, and excludes all other Christian societies as mere sects and schisms from the unity of the One Body of Christ (*Conc. Trid. Sess.* IV. *Decr. de Can. Script. Conc. Vatic. Sess.* iii. cap. 2).

On what must any claim or privilege, in order to be accounted divine in the Church of Rome, and warranted by Revelation, be based?

a. On Holy Scripture.
b. On the historical tradition of the Church.
c. On the *unanimous* consent of the Fathers.

On what does the entire claim of Papal infallibility avowedly rest?

On the asserted heirship to St. Peter and right of succession to all his privileges.

What follows from this?

That the Pope can claim no more than is plainly discoverable as conferred upon and exercised by St. Peter himself.

Where is the whole of the evidence nowextant upon this head to be found?

It is confined to the books of the New Testament. The few meagre and uncertain notices of St. Peter's life which have come to us from uninspired writers do not touch this question of his primacy, jurisdiction, and transmission of his powers at all. Consequently, the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles contain not only his whole charter of privilege, but our whole means of ascertaining what he actually enjoyed and exercised in virtue of that charter.

What then, for the Roman claims to have any firm basis, must evidence establish clearly and expressly and not by mere possible implication?

a. That St. Peter was given by Christ a primacy, not of honour and rank only, but of direct and sovereign jurisdiction over all the other Apostles.

b. That this primacy was not limited to St. Peter's person only for his lifetime, but was conferred on him with power to bequeath it to his successors.

What rules has the Roman Canon Law laid down to govern all cases of the sort?

It has laid down the following broad rules (amongst others) by which a Roman claim cannot refuse to be tested.

a. The authoritative document containing the privilege must be produced.—(Decret. Greg. ix. lib. v. tit. xxxiii.)

b. Its wording must be certain and manifest, not obscure or doubtful.—(Decret. Greg. ix. lib. v. tit. xl. 25.)

c. It must be construed in the most strict and literal sense.—(Reg. Juris. vi. and xxviii.; Fagnan. de. Past. et. Prœlat. 7; Zyphœus de Privil. Consult. 1.)

d. If personal, it follows the person (not the office); and it dies with the person named in it.—(Boniface viii. De Regulis Juris. reg. vii.)

e. It may not be extended to any other person, because of identity or similarity of reason, unless such extension be expressly named in it.—(Decret. Greg. ix. lib. v. tit. xxxiii. 9.)

f. It may not be so interpreted as to deny, interfere with, or encroach upon the rights and privileges of another.—(Decret. Greg. ix. lib. v. tit. xxxiii. 4.)

g. It is forfeited by any excess or abuse in its exercise.—(Decret. ii. xi. 3. lx.)

Where is our Lord's charter to St. Peter held to be contained?

In the following three clauses of the Gospel:—

a. St. Matthew xvi. 17–19.

b. St. Luke xxii. 31, 32.

c. St. John xxi. 15–17.

But are not certain portions of it common to the other Apostles?

a. Yes; our Lord conferred the same power of the keys on the remaining Apostles apart from St. Peter (Matt. xviii. 18); and again bestowed it on all the Apostles collectively after His Resurrection (John xx. 21–23). Accordingly, the clause as to the keys in St. Matthew xvi. 19, is no part of the especial *privilege* of Peter, and constitutes no difference between him and the remaining Apostles.

b. The second passage (Luke xxii. 31, 32), so far from exalting St. Peter, actually puts him below the level of his colleagues, as the context shows. To fortify them by confession of his own weakness is in no respect akin to exercising authority over them.

c. The third passage (John xx. 21–23) in like manner confers no exceptional privilege, because we have it twice attributed to the ordinary ministers of the Church—the elders, far below the Apostles in power and dignity, while one of these two attributions is made by St. Peter himself (see Acts xx. 28; 1 Pet. v. 1–3; see also St. Matt. x. 16). And, in truth, part of the immediate context of St. John xxi. 17, which has been generally overlooked in this connection, furnishes incidental but adequate disproof of the ultramontane gloss (John xxi. 20–22). It is obvious that if St. Peter had received jurisdiction over St. John only a few minutes before, his question was perfectly legitimate and reasonable, and merited a reply, as being his concern, because affecting one for whom he had been just made responsible. But the answer he actually receives can denote nothing short of St. John's entire independence, and the restriction of St. Peter's own commission to attending to his own specific and limited share of apostolic work, with no right of control over St. John.

What have you to say then to the only remaining portion of the charter of special Petrine privilege (*Matt.* xvi. 18)?

That even it does not stand alone in such sort as to constitute a gift of sovereign authority (see Eph. i. 19, 20; Rev. xxi. 14, 19, 20).

Nevertheless, as the whole New Testament ought, for the purposes of this inquiry, to be construed as a single document, may there not be other expressions and indications in it from which the Petrine charter may be reasonably inferred, and if a collection of them give any more specific authority to St. Peter than is visible thus far, must it not be read into and incorporated with that charter?

Undoubtedly: and the first piece of evidence is that *immediately after* the bestowal by Christ of whatever gift or privilege is conferred by St. Matthew xvi. 18, 19,—and most probably in the course of the very same conversation, as appears from a comparison of Mark viii. 27–34,—by far the sternest rebuke ever uttered to an Apostle by Christ falls on St. Peter (Matt. xvi. 21–23). This proves at the least that St. Peter did not acquire in virtue of that previous charter the gift of infallibility, nor even that of not directly contravening the will of God. And so evident is this deduction, that a modern Infallibilist has endeavoured to escape from it by alleging that the Peter of the second clause was a different one from the Simon Bar-jona or Peter of the first one.

If the passage in question be, as it is from a Roman Catholic point of view, one of the most significant and important items of divine revelation, are we not entitled to expect to find it emphasised by the other Evangelists?

If it lay outside their plan, and they made no reference whatever to this conversation at Cæsarea Philippi, no conclusion either way could be drawn from their silence, any more than from St. John's omission of the Last Supper or the Ascension.

But SS. Mark and Luke both do embody St. Peter's confession of Christ in their narratives, yet leave out entirely all reference to the words "Thou art Peter," &c. (Mark viii. 27–34; Luke ix. 18–23). Hence it is clear that in their minds the important part of the conversation was the declaration of our Lord's person and office, not the definition and scope of St. Peter's privilege. Nor is this all. The received tradition of the Roman Church is that St. Mark was the disciple of St. Peter, and wrote his gospel by St. Peter's directions and under his supervision. But St. Mark, while *omitting* the words "Thou art Peter," &c., *inserts* the words "Get thee behind me, Satan; for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but the things that be of men" (Mark viii. 33).

The inevitable inference from this most weighty fact is that St.

Peter himself did not consider the words of Christ, in St. Matthew xvi. 17–20, as necessary to be communicated by St. Mark to those for whom his gospel was written, and therefore it is clear that he did not attach the meaning to them which Roman controversialists now allege as the true one, since, had he done so, he was bound for the highest reasons to make his peculiar commission known, precisely as an ambassador is required to produce his credentials, and the governor of a colony to exhibit his Patent from the Crown, at his entry upon his office. Nor can such a breach of duty as silence under such circumstances be excused by attributing it to St. Peter's humility, because the truest humility is implicit obedience to God's commands, whether tending to exalt or abase him to whom the command is given.

Further, St. Peter himself recognises no foundation of the Church save Christ Himself (1 Pet. ii. 3–6, 24, 25). With this may be contrasted the language of Pius IX., who, in a public address, applied to himself the text, St. John xiv. 6,—"I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life,"—words which cannot by any accommodation be applied save to Him Who spoke them, as two of them denote incommunicable attributes; whereas St. Peter might have found justification for claiming the titles of "Foundation of the Church" and "Chief Shepherd," as his own, had he thought they belonged to him.

The next question to consider is, What additional light does the language of our Lord in the Gospel shed on the extent and nature of the privilege of Peter?

a. First, then, soon after the utterance in St. Matthew xvi. 18, and just before the bestowal of the power of the keys on all the Apostles in St. Peter's absence, the question of precedence in Christ's kingdom is raised, and is answered by our Lord in terms inconsistent with the opinion that the disciples understood Him to have already settled that point, or that He had in fact done so, whether they understood Him or not (Matt. xviii. 1–4).

b. A little later Christ puts all the Apostles on the same level (Matt. xix. 27, 28). This text has a further bearing on the question, as establishing that Christ's grants are conditional and forfeitable, not indefeasible, since one of the twelve to whom these words were spoken was Judas Iscariot.

c. Thirdly, comes the application of the mother of SS. James and John on behalf of her children (Matt. xx. 20–28). Here it is noticed that the request of Salome was not for a mere honorary distinction, but for substantial office and authority,

since in Eastern kingdoms, even to this day, the two principal ministers of state ranking next in authority to the monarch are styled "Vizir of the right hand" and "Vizir of the left hand." Obviously, Christ's answer, on the Roman hypothesis, must have been that He had already given away the right-hand post to St. Peter, and did not intend to create a left-hand one. What He *does* say is to declare explicitly that no one of them should exercise authority over the others, consequently that He had *not* given St. Peter any jurisdiction over the Apostolic College.

d. Nevertheless, so persistent amongst the twelve was the carnal way of viewing Christ's kingdom as modelled on the pattern of earthly monarchies, that this very same question crops up again at the Last Supper—a time when a peculiar solemnity and sacredness attaches to every word of Christ, and when, if ever, we might expect Him to nominate the chief who should rule His Church after His departure. What we do find, however, is a precise reiteration of His former explanation, a renewal of His former promise of equal dignity (Luke xxii. 24–30).

e. After supper, He says, still marking their perfect equality, "I am the Vine, ye are the branches" (John xv. 5).

f. The last utterance of Christ which directly bears upon the question of privilege is the final commission to the Apostles before the Ascension (Matt. xxviii. 16–20). Here, as before, no distinction is made between them, and no hint is given that they should look to St. Peter as their chief.

g. There is, however, yet another important saying of our Lord's, which touches the subject from another side, and not less significantly. On the night before His death Christ formally designates His Vicar on earth, and that in the most precise and definite terms, to the necessary exclusion of any other (John xiv. 16, 17, 26; xv. 26; xvi. 13, 14, 15).

The formal installation of this Vicar of Christ is also recorded in Acts ii. 1–4.

This being so, to demand, much more to constitute, what the Vatican Council styles a "Visible Head of the Church Militant" is, in effect, to refuse the Head so nominated and appointed by Christ, and to commit the sin of the Jews when they twice rejected the Lord because of His invisibility, desiring some object of worship and some leader more cognisable by their senses (Exodus xxxii. 1); and later, when demanding a king, in order to be like the nations round them, as recorded in 1 Sam. viii. 4–7.

You have told us the evidence derivable from the words *of our Lord in the Gospels as to any peculiar charter of privilege bestowed on St. Peter, but* acts, *in such a matter, would be equally valid as testimony, and must also be taken into account. Our next question, therefore, is What direct personal distinctions are, by the immediate* action *of Christ Himself, conferred on St. Peter, and recorded in the Gospels?*

They are said to be as follows :—

a. St. Peter's name stands *first* in the three lists of the Apostles given in the synoptic Gospels (Matt. x. 2 ; Mark iii. 16 ; Luke vi. 15). This, coupled with the fact that the name of Judas Iscariot stands *last* in the same three lists, points to a priority of some kind, albeit not defined clearly.

To this it may be replied that in the analogy of any cognate lists, so far as Holy Scripture is concerned—such as those in Genesis, Numbers, and Chronicles—only genealogical order of seniority is denoted, and no difference of authority over the deacons appears in the case of St. Stephen (Acts vi. 5), nor over the Seven Churches in that of the Angel of the Church of Ephesus (Rev. i. 2 ; ii. 1). There are, moreover, two items of evidence discoverable in the lists of the Apostles, which materially weaken the argument drawn from the order of the names. They are that unquestionably SS. James and John occupy a more prominent place in the Gospels than any other Apostle except St. Peter himself, and seemingly enjoy some degree of priority. But in two out of the three lists (Matt. x. 2 and Luke vi. 14) St. Andrew is placed next after St. Peter and described as his brother, while in St. Mark's gospel alone (iii. 16, 17) is the actual order of rank observed, and the qualifying description of St. Andrew omitted;—another incidental proof of St. Peter's care not to magnify his office. In like manner, St. Matthew places his own name after that of St. Thomas (Matt. x. 3), albeit he is put before St. Thomas in the lists of St. Mark (iii. 18) and St. Luke (v. 15). Consequently these variations of the order forbid us to assume that any strict gradation of rank is implied, since otherwise the Evangelists would not have ventured to deviate from the series of the original appointment.

b. St. Peter is chosen as a companion and witness to Christ on three important occasions, from which the general body of the Apostles was excluded, (1) the Transfiguration—Matt. xvii. 1 ; Mark ix. 2 ; Luke ix. 28 : (2) the raising of Jairus' daughter—Mark v. 37 ; Luke viii. 51: (3) the Agony in the Garden—Matt.

xxvi. 37 ; Mark xiv. 33. To this it may be replied that St. James and St. John share the distinction with him.

c. He is directed to pay the tribute money for Christ and himself, and is thus specially coupled with our Lord.

This relation is one which does not arise out of Christ's spontaneous action for the purpose of honouring St. Peter, but from the accidental coincidence in time, so to speak, of the application to St. Peter for payment, and our Lord's visit to his house. And further, both Christ and St. Peter were, in this instance, alike subordinated to the Jewish law, which naturally treated them as on exactly the same footing below itself, and recognised no distinction of liability between them ; so that no inference whatever can be drawn from the narrative as to their relation to each other under the Gospel, and it remains that the sole reason for the commemoration of the event is to record the miracle of the fish.

d. St. Peter is sent to prepare the upper chamber for the Passover (Luke xxii. 8). But St. John is coupled with St. Peter in the errand, so that here, too, no special privilege is discernible.

Cite the instances given as proofs of St. Peter's authority after the Ascension.

a. He proposes, between the Ascension and Pentecost, the filling up of the vacancy left by Judas Iscariot in the college of Apostles (Acts i. 15, 21, 22).

But the narrative of the election of St. Matthias (Acts i. 21–26), so far from helping to establish any claim to sovereign authority on St. Peter's behalf, furnishes one weighty item of evidence against it. Nothing is clearer than that if he had succeeded in any special sense to Christ's authority over the Church as His Vicar, and if, in consequence, the Apostolic College bore any such relation to him, as, for instance, the College of Cardinals does to the Pope—and the Ultramontane theory requires no less —St. Peter would have filled up the vacant place of Judas on his own authority, as the Pope deals with a vacant Cardinal's hat, or as Solomon, when clothed with David's twofold office of king and prophet, dealt with the High Priesthood, when he put Zadok the priest into the room of Abiathar (1 Kings ii. 26, 27, 35), but nothing of this sort meets us. St. Peter's share in the transaction is strictly confined to suggesting the necessity of designating a successor. The whole College unites in nominating two candidates, and the actual election is determined by lot (Acts i. 26).

b. He preaches the first missionary sermon to the Jews on the Day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 14, 38).

But preaching a sermon to convert outsiders to the Church is in no respect akin to exercising jurisdiction over those within the Church.

c. He works the first miracle of the Church on the lame man at the Temple gate (Acts iii. 6), and two others of the very few recorded in the Acts (ix. 32–42).

A miracle of healing performed on one outside the Church is not an act of internal jurisdiction.

d. He preaches the second missionary sermon to the Jews (Acts iii. 12).

This instance is identical with *b.*

e. He is spokesman for himself and St. John before the Sanhedrim (Acts iv. 8).

A plea of self-defence before an alien and external tribunal is not an act of internal jurisdiction.

f. He passes judgment on Ananias and Sapphira (Acts v. 3–11).

This is unquestionably an example of coercive jurisdiction for the punishment by Divine authority of offences against religion. But (1) it is an extraordinary and miraculous judgment in a wholly exceptional case, not an act of habitual and general jurisdiction; (2) it is inflicted not on an Apostle, nor on an office-bearer in the Church, but on two lay persons belonging to the particular local congregation over which St. Peter was then presiding, so that it affords no clue to the extent of his authority over other Apostles, or even over lay folk void of offence; (3) the authority exercised is in any case not visibly different in kind or degree from that of St. Paul, when he smote Elymas the sorcerer with blindness (Acts xiii. 6-12), or when he delivered Hymenæus and Alexander unto Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme (1 Tim. i. 20), while it is actually less than that which St. Paul exercised in the case of the incestuous Corinthian, because on that occasion the Apostle acted as a judge of appeal, not of first instance, deciding the case from a distance, and not on the spot (1 Cor. v. 3).

g. He is a second time spokesman for the Apostles before the Sanhedrim (Acts v. 29), identical with *e.*

h. He preaches the first missionary sermon to the Gentiles, and causes his converts from among them to be baptized (Acts x. 34, 48).

This instance is identical with *b*, with, however, a noteworthy hint of St. Peter's responsibility to the Apostolic College. "Can

any man forbid water?" &c. (Acts x. 47), words which imply that had no miracle attested his action, it might be disallowed at Jerusalem, in despite of his apostolic office.

i. He argues in the council of Jerusalem for the relaxation of the ceremonial law in case of Gentile Christians (Acts xv. 7). This establishes no more than St. Peter's right to a voice in the Assembly. He does not open the debate, for he does not begin to speak till "after there had been much disputing" (Acts xv. 7); nor—what is more significant—does he close it, as will be shown presently.

j. St. Paul, at the outset of his regular ministry, after his three years' sojourn in Arabia, goes up to Jerusalem to consult St. Peter (Gal. i. 18).

St. Paul's consultation of St. Peter merely helps to establish what is not disputed, the prominence and weight which St. Peter's position gave him in the Church as the Apostle of the Circumcision.

Whether it implied any obligation on St. Paul's part to be bound by St. Peter's decision will be seen presently from an examination of another statement made by St. Paul in the very same epistle, nay, in the very same part of its argument.

Can you give proofs that establish more than mere failure of evidence as to St. Peter's exercise of supreme jurisdiction because they show that it was not his to exercise?

There are three proofs in the Acts. First stands the narrative of the mission to Samaria (Acts viii. 14–17). It is a maxim admitting of no exception in human affairs that the sender is greater than the sent, and therefore the Apostolic Church at Jerusalem was in its totality greater than St. Peter, whatever his rank in relation to its separate members may have been.

Secondly, when St. Peter had baptized Cornelius and some other Gentiles, the remaining Apostles and brethren, instead of submissively accepting his decision, called him to account for the innovation; and he in turn, instead of simply citing his privilege and bidding them obey, admitted his responsibility to them by defending himself at length, recounting the circumstances of his vision (Acts xi. 1–5).

The third item of disproof is even weightier. It is that the presidency and deciding voice in the Council of Jerusalem belong to St. James, and not to St. Peter, who is no more than an influential debater, on a level with St. Paul and St. Barnabas. St. James terminates the discussion with an authoritative ruling

(Acts xv. 19). "Wherefore my sentence is," or, as it would be more tersely and literally rendered, "Wherefore I decide" (Vulg., *ego judico*), whereas the words he uses of St. Peter's argument are merely "Simeon hath declared," &c., where the exact rendering is no more than "stated" or "related" (Vulg. *narravit*). And the decree of the Council is strictly corporate in its terms, implying absolute equality in the authority of its framers (Acts xv. 22). This was not in any sense a local assembly for diocesan purposes, nor a merely consultative gathering not intended to come to any decision, but a Council met to consider a question of first-rate importance to Christianity, and to formulate a binding decree respecting it for the whole Catholic Church of the time; while St. Peter's presence and active share in the proceedings excludes any rebutting plea based on his relation to the Council.

What claims does St. Peter himself, by his acts or writings, make to supreme personal authority, as ruler or teacher of the Church, as it is certain that he could not justifiably conceal nor even minimise a Divine charter of this sort, forming an integral part of the constitution of Christ's Kingdom?

There are exactly three passages of Holy Scripture which are relevant to this part of the discussion. They are these:—

a. Acts x. 25, 26.

b. 1. Pet. v. 1.—It is to be observed that the phrase "who am also an Elder," is simpler and humbler in the original and in the Vulgate, which have "a fellow-elder;" so that here St. Peter does not press even his apostleship.

c. 2 Pet. i. 12–15.—The language of this quotation is that of a man who is seizing a final opportunity of warning his flock personally for the last time, in hopes that his dying words may have permanent influence; not that of a dying monarch and law-giver, who had provided for all contingencies to the latest hour of time, by bequeathing infallible judgment and absolute power to a line of successors, heirs to his transmissible and inalienable privilege.

Moreover, if, as we are further assured, the plenitude of teaching as well as of ruling is vested in St. Peter and his successors, we are entitled to look for evidence of this fact also in Holy Scripture. What do his epistles yield us on examination?

They prove to be exclusively moral and hortatory, except in three passages, which are only, so to speak, classical texts supplying

information on doctrinal matters not elsewhere set down in equivalent terms. They are these :—*a.* 1. Pet. iii. 18–22 ; *b.* 1. Pet. iv. 6 : *c.* 2 Pet. iii. 15, 16. And there is a fourth passage noticeable as the only one worded in an authoritative fashion, but remarkable for its collective and, as it were, impersonal wording, "us the apostles," contrasted with the first person singular of St. Paul and St. John (2 Pet. iii. 1, 2). This, then, is the sum of the direct instruction in matter of doctrine, as distinguished from devotional and moral exhortation, peculiar to these epistles, which St. Peter has given to the Church—two sentences giving some information as to the souls of those who died before the coming of Christ, one declaration of the nature and effect of Baptism, and one warning against misinterpreting St. Paul's writings. There is no disciplinary instructions whatever. On the other hand, if we turn to the Epistles of St. James and St. John, even without taking account of the latter Apostle's Gospel and Apocalypse, we shall find a larger element of both discipline and doctrine than in St. Peter's writings. Thus, for example, in the second chapter of St. James' epistle, a rule is laid down about the equality of rich and poor in Christian assemblies (Jas. ii. 1–4), &c., &c.

So, too, if we examine the epistles of St. John, we shall find more explicit dogmatic teaching and clearer references to ecclesiastical discipline than in St. Peter's writings. There is chiefly in the first epistle the doctrine of the Incarnation and of the Homoousion clearly laid down (1 John i. 1, 2, ii. 22, 23, iv. 3, 15, v. 6, 10, 12) ; while in the second and third we have intimations of discipline (2 John 9–11, 3 John 9, 10).

That is to say, in effect, if the two epistles of St. Peter had been lost, albeit much food for devout meditation would be gone, no practical difference in the sum and colour of Christian teaching would be discernible ; a conclusion wholly inconsistent with the position of universal teacher claimed for St. Peter by Roman controversialists, and yet indisputable as matter of fact. For Christianity, as we know it, is Pauline and Johannine all but exclusively, and if there be a Petrine element, it is so obscure as to be matter of conjecture, not of knowledge. Indeed, if it be found now at all, it is in the literature of the Syrian churches, Influenced by the once-famous schools of Edessa and Nisibis, whose Petrine tone is probable evidence that the "Babylon" of St. Peter's first epistle is the ancient city of Mesopotamia in their neighbourhood, and not Rome. And as these Syrian churches severed themselves from Catholic unity in hostility to

the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, and have remained separated ever since, they are proof that adherence to Petrine teaching does not necessarily connote Orthodoxy or Catholicity in all respects.

Can you strengthen this argument?

There remains still a great mass of yet uncited Scripture testimony, which is perhaps weightier than all that has thus far been adduced, namely, that which consists of the life and writings of St. Paul. There is an amount of direct biographical record not paralleled by any human lives in Holy Writ save those of Moses and David. And if it be urged that this circumstance is due to the "accident," so to speak, of St. Luke, the compiler of the Acts, having been the chosen companion of St. Paul (Coloss. iv. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 11), the reply is obvious, that St. Peter, too, had an evangelist in his train, "Marcus, my son" (1 Pet. v. 13), so that they were on an equal footing in that respect; and had the events of St. Peter's life been as important for us to know as those of St. Paul, it would, doubtless, have pleased the Holy Ghost to have inspired St. Mark to write them for our edification. Yet, on the Ultramontane hypothesis, every act and word of St. Peter must needs be of vital interest, and especially everything which took the shape of a dogmatic instruction or a disciplinary regulation, as moulding the Church for all time.

The second fact which meets us under this head is the great bulk of St. Paul's writings, here again only paralleled by Moses.

In the third place, not only are the directly Pauline writings fourteen times in excess of the Petrine in mere bulk, but they are of enormously greater literary and theological importance. So thoroughly did the Fathers realise this pre-eminence of St. Paul as the teacher of the Church, that wherever we find "the apostle" referred to by them, with no specification of person, they always mean St. Paul. So Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. vi. 36); so Theodoret, (Hœret. Fab. ii. 7); so St. Augustine (Cont. Epist. Pelag.), saying, "So, when 'apostle' is said, if it be not expressed what apostle, none is understood save Paul"; so St. Chrysostom (Hom. iv.i n Act Apost.), observing, "When you say apostle, at once all think of him (Paul), just as when you say *Baptist*, they think of John.' And this custom prevails in the Oriental churches to the present day, where "the apostle" means the book of St. Paul's Epistles.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile this broad fact with the position now claimed for the Popes as chief teachers of

the Church in virtue of their heirship to St. Peter, for it is simply indisputable that St. Peter either did not fill this office at all in the primitive Church, or that by Divine intervention he was set aside in it and the records of his occupancy destroyed, leaving the apparent dignity as well as the actual influence in the hands of St. Paul, so far, at any rate, as the Biblical notices guide us; thus carrying out under the New Testament that rule of the first being last and the elder serving the younger, laid down by Christ, and evidenced in the Old Testament in the cases of Cain and Seth, Ishmael and Isaac, Esau and Jacob, Reuben and Joseph or Judah, Aaron and Moses, Eliab and David, Adonijah and Solomon.

What are the true measure and limits of St. Peter's official authority?

This is seen in the following paragraphs :—

a. 1 Cor. i. 10–13.—It was a mark of schism to adhere specifically to St. Peter so as to form a separate school or party in the Church, instead of this very choice being treated, as it is by Ultramontanes now, as the one peculiar note and test of Catholic fellowship and of covenant with God.

b. 1 Cor. iii. 21–23.—The Christian body is not St. Peter's domain, but he himself, contrariwise, as part of that body, belongs to the whole, and is included in its possessions, as it in turn is included in Christ's.

c. Gal. ii. 7–14.—Instead of the Church Universal being, so to speak, St. Peter's Diocese, he was divinely restricted to the circumcision, that is to say, the Church of Jewish converts, and had no jurisdiction whatever over the Gentiles; and, consequently, as no subsequent enlargement of this restriction is recorded in Scripture, he could not transmit to any of his successors a wider authority than that here named as his limit. The separate "Church of the Circumcision" did not merge in the general Christian body till the reign of Hadrian, fifty years after St. Peter's death. St. Peter, therefore, had no Gentile jurisdiction to transmit. The order of the three Apostolic names, "James, Cephas, John," cited by St. Paul, seems to imply either equality of rank amongst them, or else that St. James, as head of the principal Church of the Circumcision at Jerusalem, was now in some sense St. Peter's ecclesiastical superior. And this view is supported by the words which tell us (Gal. ii. 12) that St. Peter's line of policy at Antioch was through fear of St. James' legates, a fear not

easily explicable on any ground save that of some accountability on his part to them. There is one further item of evidence, too slight for independent importance, but cumulative, which makes in the same direction, namely, that when St. Peter was released from prison he directed the people at St. Mark's house to "Go, show these things unto James and to the brethren" (Acts xii.),—words which may imply that he was in some way bound to report himself to what, in modern language, would be called the Bishop and Chapter of the See. Next, there is at once the full disproof of St. Peter's Infallibility and of his Supremacy. He decides wrongly on an important question of Faith and Morals, as is established by the Church having ever since taken St. Paul's view of the situation, and he is withstood face to face, not submitted to, by the younger Apostle, who, had he been in the wrong, would have had his rebellion—for it would have been no less—as clearly censured in Holy Writ as St. Peter's denial of Christ, to warn all others by so terrible a fall, instead of standing as it does now, by the will of the Holy Ghost, as a proof of St. Paul's zeal and loyalty for the truth of the Gospel, and a ground of justifiable satisfaction to himself.

d. 1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iv. 11, 12. The sketch which St. Paul gives of the divinely-ordered constitution of the Church becomes more than merely defective if there were any office and authority higher than that of an Apostle instituted by Christ, and forming the immediate link of connection—the neck, so to speak, between the Head and the Body.

It is clear, then, that in his capacity of Doctor of the Gentiles, and chief theologian of the Primitive Christian Church, St. Paul, who expressly states himself to "have kept back nothing that was profitable," and to "have not shunned to declare the whole counsel of God" (Acts xx. 20, 27), not merely avoids any allusion in his copious writings to the "privilege of Peter," but uses language so manifestly inconsistent therewith, as to necessarily mislead all to whom those writings might come, supposing that privilege to be a matter of divine truth; while the silence of St. James also, as indeed of all the other New Testament writers, may be taken as proof that this was not one of St. Paul's misconstrued teachings which had been perverted, and needed correction at some other hand, but the received doctrine of apostolic days.

But have we any right to draw conclusions from St. Peter's

marked reticence as to his own Supremacy, seeing we are not in a position to judge what kind of acts and language he would have used to enforce it? and are we justified in treating our mere guess-work as to what would or would not have been fit and proper for him to say and do, as if it were a solid piece of evidence?

In truth, this mode of reasoning (technically called the *à priori* argument) is itself the mainstay of every Roman controversialist who pleads the *practical necessity* of a visible and infallible Head of the Church, as a proof that such a head does really exist, so that the objection is not valid from that quarter, but it may be allowed to pass, since it can readily be dispensed with, inasmuch as St. Paul supplies us with all the illustration required.

The peculiar and altogether exceptional mode of St. Paul's appointment to the Apostolic office, and the leading part he took against the Judaising school in the infant Church, caused his rank to be frequently called in question, and his authority disputed. Hence, he was obliged to magnify his office, and to insist on his powers and privileges, and that frequently; albeit there could be no such imperative obligation for him to do so, as for St. Peter to do the like, if it were true, as we are now told, that the whole relation of every human soul to the Father and Christ depends on, and is inextricably bound up with, its relation to the See of Peter. The rejection of St. Paul might be, and in fact was, perfectly consistent with acceptance of Christianity and with membership of the Church, for it did not involve the extrusion of the Judaisers who refused to acknowledge him; but the rejection of St. Peter, on the Ultramontane theory, would have been apostasy from the faith itself. St. Peter would, therefore, have been bound, if not on his own behalf, yet on that of his successors, to allege his peculiar charter as plainly as St. Paul does his apostolic character.

What is the extent of St. Paul's powers as set forth in his own writings?

a Rom. i. 1–7.
b Rom. xi. 13.
c Rom. xv. 15–20.
d 1 Cor. iv. 14–21.
e 1 Cor. v. 3–5.
f 1 Cor. vii. 17.*
g 1 Cor. xi. 1, 2.
h 1 Cor. xvi. 1–4.
i 2 Cor. ii. 9, 10.
j 2 Cor. xi. 5.
k 2 Cor. xi. 28.†
l 2 Cor. xii. 11–13.
m 2 Cor. xiii. 1–3, 10.
n Philip. iv. 9.
o 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14.
p 2 Tim. ii. 1, 2.
q Tit. i. 5.

* Vulg., "Et sicut in omnibus ecclesiis doceo."
† Vulg., "Solicitudo omnium ecclesiarum."

Besides all these statements of St. Paul's Apostolic authority, we find disciplinary enactments, which cannot be cited in detail, laid down by him on the following points :—

1. Observance of Jewish distinctions of food and of days (Rom. xiv. ; Coloss. ii. 16).
2. Lawsuits between Christians (1. Cor. vi. 1–4).
3. Marriage-tie between Christians and heathens (1 Cor. vii. 12–17).
4. Lawfulness of using Pagan sacrifices as food (1. Cor. viii., x. 27, 28).
5. Head-dress of men and women at public prayer (1. Cor. xi. 4–16).
6. Preparation for Communion (1 Cor. xi. 28).
7. Vernacular language in public worship (1 Cor. xiv. 15–19).
8. Order in public worship (1. Cor. xiv. 27–33, 40).
9. Women forbidden to preach (1. Cor. xiv. 34, 35).
10. Weekly offertory (1 Cor. xvi. 2).
11. Intercessory prayer (1 Tim. ii. 1, 2).
12. Dress and conduct of women (1 Tim. ii. 9–15).
13. Qualifications of Bishops and Deacons (1 Tim. iii. 1–13 ; Tit. i. 7–9).
14. Qualifications of Church widows (1 Tim. v. 9–13).
15. Excommunication of heretics after two admonitions (Tit. iii. 10), &c.

Will you now emphasise certain results of the fuller citations just given, excluding such of those texts as we may fairly hold to denote no more than the degree of rank and power common to the Apostolic body, albeit even these are not paralleled by anything in St. Peter's Epistles?

a. St. Paul alleges himself to be "not a whit (*al.* in nothing) behind the very chiefest apostles," making no exception in favour of SS. Peter or James.

b. He claims the whole field of the "Church of the Uncircumcision" as his own, to the direct and specified *exclusion* of St. Peter, alleging himself further to be "*the*," not *an*, "Apostle of the Gentiles."

c. In virtue of this claim he demands the obedience of the *Roman Church*, giving no hint throughout the epistle to it of any superior, previous, or co-existing claim on St. Peter's part.

d. He tells the Church of Corinth that the only particular in which it was inferior to any other church was, that he did not permit it to defray his expenses. He gives no hint that Antioch

or Rome, as St. Peter's reputed See, had any priority or authority over Corinth.

e. He declares that the "care of *all* the churches" is his daily task.

f. He ordains rules to be observed "in *all* churches."

g. He sends his legates with plenary powers to act for him, alleges his commission to them as their full warrant, and, unlike St. Peter (2 Pet. i. 13–15), provides at least one personal successor to himself to transmit his teaching authoritatively.

h. He directs the excommunication of all persons who refuse to accept his injunctions, as being in effect those of Christ Himself.

What conclusion do you draw from these cases?

If it were St. Paul who was alleged to have been the infallible head of the Church militant on earth, it would be extremely easy to support such an allegation by the cited passages, all of which are at least consistent with such a theory, and some of which even seem to force it on our attention. Nevertheless, no such allegation has ever been made on St. Paul's behalf. We can guess what use would have been made of it on St. Peter's behalf had such evidence been producible from the Petrine Epistles. Further, not only are we justified in saying that the claim made for St. Peter absolutely requires the production of some at least equivalent, if not more cogent Scriptural testimony, confessedly non-existent, but that the Pauline assertions *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, and *f*, are wholly inconsistent with and destructive of the alleged "Privilege of Peter," as stated by the modern Church of Rome.

The charter of privilege, so far, is shown to be restricted to the words in St. Matt. xvi. 18.

Can you point out any flaw in this sentence?

It obviously does not satisfy the second condition—that of clearness—laid down by the Canonists, as necessary to fulfil the legal requirements of a claim of privilege, because there is confessedly an ambiguity in its wording, which is not certain, manifest, and unmistakable in meaning.

In what does the ambiguity consist?

It consists in a play upon words, so to speak, visible in the Greek text, a peculiarity reproduced by the Vulgate, which translates thus: *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam.* With this compare the partially parallel passage in St. John i. 42. Here the Vulgate runs: *Tu vocaberis Cephas; quod*

interpretatur Petrus. Obviously, to warrant the stress laid on this obscure saying of our Lord's, the *same* word ought to be used in both clauses of the sentence, and it should run in the Vulgate: *Tu es Petrus, et super hunc Petrum*, &c., or else we ought to have *Tu es Petra* in the earlier member. As the clauses actually stand, there is contrast as well as likeness implied, and the *stone*, although akin to the *rock*, is something different and apart from it, less in dimensions, stability, and importance, for though *petros* is used with extreme rarity in Attic Greek to signify a rock, it is never so found in the LXX. or the New Testament. St. Augustine very justly argued that Christ nowhere uses the words, "Thou art *a* rock," as those who accept the Petrine theology contend; but only, "Thou art named Peter." As John the Baptist was not the Light itself, but only came to bear witness of the Light, in the same way Peter was not the very rock itself, or basis and foundation of the Christian faith, but received his well-known appellation because he was the first to make a good and bold confession of the Incarnation, its great and leading truth. The arguments of Augustine are clear and unmistakable: —"Non enim illi dictum est, 'Tu es petra,' sed, 'tu es Petrus.' Christus autem erat petra, quam Simon confessus, sicut eum tota Ecclesia confitetur, dictus est Petrus."—*Anglicè*, Rockman. (See Augustine's "Meditationes.")

What is the answer to the ingenious reply devised by Cardinal Bellarmine—that our Lord speaking in Syriac or Aramaic, actually did use the same word in both cases, saying, "*Thou art Cephas, and upon this cepha I will build My Church?*"

The answer to this is fivefold.

a. It is matter of reasonable conjecture and probability only, not of absolute certainty, that our Lord did use, or must have used, the same word, and indeed that He spoke in Syriac or Aramaic at all and not in Greek.

b. In any case, if His original words are *not* those of the Greek St. Matthew, they are for ever lost to us, and as the very first and fundamental rule of canon law as to any privilege is that the document containing it must be produced, this plea is barred.

c. For us, St. Matthew's Greek is the original text, and not a mere translation, so that even *if* we were sure of the unproved assertion made by Bellarmine, we should yet be compelled to accept St. Matthew's variation of the two words, as divinely inspired, for the express purpose of marking a difference which the Syriac failed to accentuate or suggest.

d. In any case, no Roman Catholic is at liberty to raise the plea at all, because he is certainly bound by the decrees of Trent, and perhaps by those of the Vatican, to accept the "Old Latin Vulgate edition as holy and canonical" (*Conc. Vatic. constit. de fide.* Cap. ii.), and inasmuch as this version marks the antithesis between *Petrus* and *petram*, Roman Catholics are barred from asserting their identity.

e. Lastly, as regards those not so restricted, and who are at liberty to look at the question as a purely textual and grammatical one, the reply is direct and conclusive, that both the Hebrew *Cepha* and the Peschîttâ Syriac equivalent, when they mean rock or stone, are of the feminine gender, which Cephas, or Peter, as a masculine noun denoting a man's name, certainly is not, either in Syriac or Greek; and in the ancient Syriac version of this very passage, Matt. xvi. 18 (doubtless the most trustworthy gloss obtainable), the feminine pronoun is found united with the second *Cepha*, thus, *hâdhe* Kipha = *hanc* petram, not *hana* = *hunc*, which Bellarmine's argument would require. This Peschîttâ version (which in this place agrees precisely with the Curetonian Gospels), assuming that Christ spoke Syro-Aramaic, is probably the nearest reproduction extant of His exact words, and is at any rate good authority for the interpretation of St. Matt. xvi. 18, in the second century. And it is very noteworthy that in two other extremely old Syriac versions, the "Palestinian Lectionary," published by Count Miniscalchi Erizzo from a Vatican MS., and the "Philoxenian" version by Thomas of Heraclea (A.D. 533), the Greek word *Petros* occurs in the first clause in Syriac letters; while the native word Kîphâ is in the second clause of the Palestinian, thus studiously avoiding even the chance of identification of the rock with Peter.

> *The theological principle known as the analogy of faith demands that the gospel shall always be at the very least on an equality with the law, and that, wherever possible, it shall move in a higher plane, but that it shall never descend under any circumstances whatever to a lower level, far less substitute a type for a reality, a shadow for a substance; apply this principle to the present argument.*

Wherever in the Old Testament the word *rock* is spiritually used to denote either the basis and strength of the Hebrew Church, or the refuge and confidence of a single believer, it invariably means none save Almighty God Himself, in which sense it occurs

no fewer than thirty-five times. Here are a few select examples:—Deut. xxii. 4, xxxii. 18; 1 Sam. ii. 2; 2 Sam. xxii. 2, 3, 32, xxiii. 3; Ps. lxii. 1, 2; Isa. xxvi. 4 (marg.), xliv. 8 (marg.). The remaining examples are Deut. xxxii. 15, 30, 31; 2 Sam. xxii. 47; Ps. xviii. 2, 31, 46, xix. 14 (marg.), xvii. 5, xxviii. 1, xxxi. 2, 3, xlii. 9, lxi. 2, lxii. 2, 7, lxxi. 3 (marg.), lxxiii. 26 (marg.), lxxviii. 35, lxxxix. 26, xcii. 15, xciv. 22 (marg.), xcv. 1; Isa. viii. 14, xxx. 29 (marg.), li. 1; Hab. i. 12 (marg.).

Even if this remarkable identity of spiritual application were not preserved, we have three authoritative glosses in the New Testament itself—one by our Lord, given with slight verbal differences by St. Matthew vii. 24, 25, and St. Luke vi. 47, 48. St. Paul supplies the others, 1 Cor. x. 4, and 1 Cor. iii. 2.

What, then, is the result of our inquiry into that part of the evidence for the personal privilege of Peter which is professedly based on Holy Scripture, regarded in the light of a purely legal document of absolutely indefeasible authority?

Extol as we may the privilege of Peter, clothe him with one semi-divine attribute after another, magnify as we choose his share in the establishment of Christianity, and his authority over the Apostolic Church, nevertheless, the interval between him and God cannot be appreciably abridged, the finite cannot be stretched so as even to suggest the Infinite. And if the Infinite and Almighty was the Rock of Israel, while Peter is the rock of Christendom, then the Gospel has sunk unspeakably and immeasurably below the Law. It is obvious, therefore, that the case is not made out, and does not even satisfy several of the tests of validity exacted by the Roman canon law itself in all claims of privilege. (See "Church Quarterly Review" for April 1878, "The Church of England Pulpit and Ecclesiastical Review," May 1879.)

CHAPTER XII.

MORAVIAN ORDERS.

THE Author in his second edition felt himself reluctantly compelled to suppress a chapter in favour of the Orders of the "Unitas Fratrum." And this for the following reason—that the Moravian theory and the Moravian practice seemed to him so strangely discrepant. Episcopal government allows no mere Deacon, *e.g.*, to celebrate—*i.e.*, consecrate—the Holy Eucharist. Moravian government not only does so, but further, in Dutch Guiana at least, it allows those who have *no Orders at all*, either Episcopal, Presbyterian, or Congregational, to perform duties which Episcopacy permits to the Priesthood only; and it permits this *by a written authorisation sent through the Post across the Ocean!*—which is certainly not Episcopal Ordination, whatever else it may be.

Acting, however, on the advice of one whom he has every reason to reverence, he has determined, in this third edition, to give the historical grounds on which the Moravians claim that their Orders are valid.

The Moravian Church, or "Unitas Fratrum," derives her origin from the *Greek* Church in the ninth century, when, by the instrumentality of Methodius and Cyrillus (two Greek Monks), the Kings of Bulgaria and Moravia being converted to the Faith were, together with their subjects, united in communion with the Greek Church. Methodius was their first Bishop. Persecution reduced the Church at a later period *almost* to ruins.

In their hour of need the Moravians obtained Ordination from the Waldenses: the only question is whether the Waldensian Orders were valid. All Church historians are unanimous in saying that the Waldenses had, at least originally (*i.e.*, for some time after their separation from the Roman Church), an unin-

terrupted Episcopal Succession. When in the midst of great persecution, the Priests and Bishops of the Waldenses died out, they renewed them from the Roman Church. Bishop Nicholas, who had received Roman Ordination, ordained two priests—the German Frederick, and the Italian John—at the Slavonian Monastery (Emmaus) in Prague, in the autumn of 1433, on the Festival of the Holy Cross, in the reign of the Emperor Sigismund. In the following year they sent these two Waldensian priests to Basel, where they received, after the customary manner, Episcopal Ordination at the hands of the Roman Bishops in a full conclave of priests in the year 1434.

At the Moravian Synod of Lhota, 1467, the Brethren agreed that no Ordination had been deemed valid in the Church unless performed by a Bishop. They therefore resolved to use every possible means for obtaining Episcopal Ordination, that their enemies might thus be deprived of every pretext for discrediting the ministry among them. They consequently looked around them, and having found in the Waldenses a body of Christians of pure doctrine, and tracing the succession of their Bishops from the times of the Apostles, they sent three of their ministers to the Waldensian Bishop Stephen; and he, with imposition of hands, assisted by another Bishop, ordained these three men to be Bishops of the Brethren's Church.

With regard to this succession having died out in 1671, and to Count Zinzendorf having been consecrated by two Lutheran Pastors, neither of whom were Bishops, it is mere assertion, as the following historical fact will prove:—

Amos Comenius was the last Bishop of the Polish branch of the so-called "Ancient Brethren's Church," which (namely, the whole Brethren's Church) had at this time, in consequence of violent persecutions, almost died out. Comenius, however, hoping that the Church which was dear to him might again revive, and being wishful that in case this should ever take place, the succession of Bishops might not cease, ordained before his death Peter Jablonsky, who was at that time Chaplain in Ordinary at the Court of Berlin, and he again ordained Sitkovins and Nitschmann to be Bishops of the Moravian Church—the latter in 1735 at Berlin.

When, now, the remnant of the "Ancient Church," fleeing from a renewed persecution in Moravia, found refuge on the estates of Count Zinzendorf in Lusatia, Zinzendorf for a time used all his efforts to induce the emigrants to unite themselves to the Lutheran

Church. But finding that they would rather leave their new asylum than forsake their ancient rule and discipline, he devoted himself wholly to their service, procured for them the continuation of their Episcopal constitution from the Bishops Jablonsky, Sitkovins, and Nitschmann, and resigning all his worldly honours, was himself consecrated a Bishop of the "Unitas Fratrum" in 1737. On this occasion Dr. Potter, Archbishop of Canterbury, addressed to him a letter of congratulation.

Archbishop Potter was a profound student of Church government, and his opinion is therefore of great weight. Bishop Philpotts, late of Exeter, another weighty authority, also admitted the validity of Moravian Orders.

Bishop Hacket (time of Charles II.) says, "Their platform comes so near the old Protestant Church of England that I wish we had their company."

Jablonsky remarks on the persistence with which, when the Moravian Church separated from the Roman Church, she avoided leaving the *Catholic* Church. Here the history of the Church of England offers an exact parallel at the time of the Reformation.

It might be added from English history, that in 1749 an Act of Parliament was passed with the unanimous consent of the Episcopal bench, acknowledging the Moravians as an "Ancient Protestant Episcopal Church which had been countenanced and relieved by the Kings of England, his Majesty's predecessors." The Bishop of Worcester, in the debate upon the Bill, described them as an "Ancient Episcopal Church," and said that of all Protestants they came nearest to the Established Church of this kingdom in their doctrine and constitution."

In the year 1842 thirteen folio volumes in MS. were discovered at Lissa, containing the archives of the Moravian-Bohemian Church. They were purchased by the Moravian Brethren, and are now deposited in the library at Herrnhutt. They are known as the *Lissa Folios*.

The most remarkable testimony of the validity of Moravian Orders in our times is that of the learned Dr. Gindely, a *Roman Catholic* historian, and Professor at the University of Prague. To his exhaustive book, "Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder von Anton Gindely," all students desirous of full information on this subject, are referred. The information it contains is founded on the above folios.

See also:—

(1.) Bishop de Schweinitz's pamphlet, "The Moravian Episcopate," referred to by "W. R. C."

(2.) "A Brief Narrative of the Origin and Progress of the Church of the Unitas Fratrum." Both these may be procured at the office of the Association in aid of Moravian Missions, 32 Sackville Street, Piccadilly.

(3.) "The Moravian Manual," also by Bishop de Schweinitz, published by authority of Synod. (Bethlehem, U.S.A., 1869.) This gives a complete list of their Bishops from the fifteenth century.

(4.) "Notes on the Origin and Episcopate of the Bohemian Brethren," by D. Benham. (Dalton & Lucy, Cockspur Street, 1867.) This gives valuable information from their earliest historical documents, the "Lissa folios."

(5.) Bishop Seifferth's "Church Constitution of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren." (Mallalieu & Co., 97 Hatton Garden, 1866.) This contains the original Latin "Ratio Disciplinæ," &c., with notes and a translation of that most important document.

Points of similarity showing the *Eastern* origin of the Moravian Church:—

(1.) *Presbyters* have power of confirming.

(2.) The *Surplice* worn with a cincture or girdle.

(3.) The *Sexes* always separated in Church.

(4.) *Presbyters or Priests* do *not* unite in laying their hands on the head of candidates for ordination with the Bishop.

(5.) *Standing* is the usual attitude during the Church's prayers. Only kneeling customary at the most solemn prayers.

(6.) At Ordination the *Kiss of Peace* is used.

(7.) The "*Double Procession*" of the Holy Ghost is not affirmed. She inclines to the *Single* Procession.

Moravian Baptism.

The words in the Moravian Litany at Baptism which are used when the child is sprinkled are—

"N., into the death of Jesus, I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

APPENDIX I.

GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ALEXANDRIA.

As the work of the learned Abraham Echellensis, referred to in the fourth chapter of this Manual, is very scarce, and as the point is of interest on which he is cited, namely, the original Ecclesiastical Government of the Church of Alexandria, the following extracts from the edition, printed at Rome, 1661, may be interesting to some readers :—

Page 111. Martyrologium Alexandrinum Ecclesiarum Melchitarum. *Martyrologium sub die* 25 *Aprilis.* "Die ejus (Aprilis) 25 est commemoratio certaminis Marci Apostoli, sancti Evangelistæ, qui Christum prædicavit sub annis Tiberii Cæsaris Imperatoris in universâ Ægypti et Libyæ regione, insuper, et apud barbaros Cyrenenses. Scripsitque Evangelium ipsi tributum, dictante Petro Apostolorum maximo. Aliquandiu moratus est in urbe Cyrene Cyrenæorum, indeque Alexandriam, quæ apud Pharum est, perrexit, dein in Barcam profectus est, multaque edidit miracula, et Christi Ecclesias exornavit, constituens eis *Episcopos*, atque his *inferiores Sacerdotes.*"

P. 112. Severus Alexandrinus (a.d. 978), *tomo primo de vitis Patriarch. Alexandr.* "Cum autem rescivisset S. Marcus consilium eorum (paganorum), constituit Anianum *Episcopum Alexandriæ*, item *Presbyteros* tres, et *Diaconos septem*, quos undecim instituit ad inserviendum et confirmandum fratres fideles. Ipse vero inde discedens, Pentapolim perrexit, mansitque ibi annos duos, annuncians, et ordinans *Episcopos*, *Presbyteros et Diaconos* in omnibus ejus provinciis."

P. 113. Raban Maurus (a.d. 847), in *Martyrologio* vii. *Kalend. Maii.* "Ordinaverat pro se *Alexandriæ Episcopum* Anianum, aliis quoque longe, lateque Ecclesiis *Episcopos*, *Presbyteros*, *et Diaconos* dederat."

Ibid. Nicephorus Calixtus (a.d. 806), lib. ii. cap. 43. "Is enim Petri sororis filius, imperante Tiberio, Ægypto, et Libyæ

Barbariæque universæ, Christi verbum Evangelizans renunciavit. . . . apud Cyrenæos et Pentapolitanos quamplurima admiranda fecit; Ecclesias construxit; *Clerum et Episcopos*, atque alia in super, quæ opus erant, rite et ordine constituit."

P. 115. SYNAXARIUM VETUS GRÆCORUM, in membranis Collegii Clara Montani. "Celeberrimus Apostolus MARCUS, in toto Ægypto, et Libya, et Marmarica, et Pentapoli, Tiberii Cæsaris temporibus Christi verbum prædicavit, ubique miracula edens, et Christi Ecclesias ornans ordinationibus *Episcoporum aliorumque Clericorum.*"

P. 138. CONSTITUTIONES ECCLESIÆ ALEXANDRINÆ, c. 5. "*Ne ordinetur Episcopus sine Metropolita;* et *non* ipse *solus*, sed sint alii *duo Episcopi* cum illo, ut ita constituatur a tribus." "Præcipimus autem vobis, ut *Episcopus ordinetur a tribus Episcopis;* urgente vero necessitate, a *duobus;* nec fas est, Episcopum ordinari ab uno Episcopo."

This last is quoted from Constit. Apost., iii. c. 20, and viii. c. 37.

P. 140. GREGORIUS BARHEBRÆUS, *de Fundam. Eccles.*, lib. vii. c. 2, § 1. "Secundo, sine duobus vel tribus Episcopis non ordinatur (Episcopus); ubi enim sunt duo, vel tres congregati in nomine meo, ibi sum in medio eorum."

P. 141. DANIEL, *in Epitome Canonum*, c. 5, § 3.

"Episcopus a tribus constituatur Episcopis; si vero ab uno constitutus fuerit Episcopo, præcidatur."

P. 143. SEVERUS ALEXAND. *in vita Meliani* (the third Patriarch of Alexandria), *speaking of his death:* "Percipientes autem *Sacerdotes*, et *Episcopi*, qui ante illum erant in ea regione, quod Patriarcha defunctus esset, mœsti convenerunt ad Alexandrinam urbem, ac inito cum populo orthodoxo, qui in ea erat, consilio, sortem projecerunt ut cognoscerent, quinam dignus esset, qui sederet in sede S. Marci Evangelistæ discipuli Domini nostri Jesu Christi."

P. 149. SEVERUS, *speaking of the appointment of Celadius, eighth Patriarch*, says, "Erat autem iis diebus in populo homo quidam amans Deum nomine Celadianus, quem convenientes populus orthodoxus, et *Episcopi* qui erant iis diebus Alexandriæ, assumpserunt, et Patriarcham constituerunt, ac in sede collocaverunt Evangelica."

P. 150. *Speaking of Julian's appointment, the immediate predecessor of Demetrius*, he says, "Conveniens igitur congregatio *Episcoporum* Synodaliter simulque populus orthodoxus in urbe

Alexandriæ, et studiose inquirentes in universum populum, nemi nem compererunt huic (Juliano) Presbytero similem, quamobrem manibus illi impositis, Patriarcham eum constituerunt."

Again, speaking of the proceedings which took place on the death of the Patriarch, Cosmas I., Severus narrates a conversation between the Presbyters of the city and the Bishops of the province, about the appointment of his successor. The Presbyters said: "Nostrum est hoc negotium, non *Episcoporum, ad quos* nihil aliud *pertinet* nisi *impositio manûs; nostrum* vero est *eligere* Patriarcham." The Bishops answered: "Episcopi quoque ordinabunt vobis quemcunque elegeritis; si dignum proponetis, ordinabimus illum; sin vero, eum abigemus."

APPENDIX II.

DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENT.

THE Council of Trent professes to take its stand upon the authority of the primitive Church as the interpreter of Holy Scripture. The whole question between ourselves and the Council resolves itself into the simple historical inquiry—Did the early Church hold the distinctive tenets of modern Rome or not?

But the more recent champions of Rome have shifted their ground. It is now said that an appeal to antiquity is insufficient. "The increase and expansion of the Christian creed . . . are the necessary attendants on any philosophy or polity which takes possession of the intellect and heart. . . . From the nature of the human mind, time is necessary for the full comprehension and perfection of great ideas" (Newman's "Essay on Development," Introd. p. 27). This view is supported (1.) by the analogy of natural growth. "All change is not corruption; there is a change which . . . perfects the identity of things. All growth is change. A forest tree in its majesty of spread and stature has perfect identity with the acorn from which it sprang," &c., &c. (Manning's "Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost," p. 223). (2.) The precedent of the early Christian ages is alleged. Was not the Nicene Creed a development of the Apostles' Creed, and the Athanasian of the Nicene?

Now, in the first place, to take up this line of argument is to confess that the old appeal to antiquity has broken down. It is to concede what we Anglicans have so long maintained—that the doctrine of the Roman Church is not coincident with the doctrine of the ancient Catholic Church. Beaten on the open field, the enemy betakes himself to a fortress difficult of access. But in so doing he leaves us masters of the ground for which we have fought. Nevertheless let us follow him to his retreat.

(*a.*) *The analogy of nature* tells as much against the Roman theory of self-evolution as in favour of it. What right has Cardinal Manning to assume that these developments find their parallel in the growth of the forest tree? Is it not at least as probable that they are analogous to fungoid excrescences or to epiphytic parasites which obscure and stifle the forest tree?

(*b.*) The *precedent* alleged is irrelevant. The decisions of early Councils were based uniformly on the authority of Holy Scripture expounded by the hermeneutical tradition of the Church. Let it be shown that Roman developments spring from the same source, and we are ready to accept them as integral parts of the Christian faith.

That doctrine has been and may yet be developed *from Holy Scripture*, is not denied. "Nor," to use Bishop Butler's words, "is it at all incredible that a book which has been so long in the possession of mankind should yet contain truths as yet undiscovered." (Cf. Archbishop Trench's Hulsean Lectures for 1845, § viii., "On the Future Development of Scripture.") All that we deny is the possibility of development by accretion; for such, in fact, is the form in which the theory must be held by Romanists, if it is to be of any real service to their cause. "Our Lord said to His Apostles, 'He shall teach you the whole truth.' . . . The whole revelation, then, was completed at the first. . . . And that whole truth the Apostles taught orally and in writing, committing it as the deposit to the Bishops whom they left in their places (2 Tim. ii. 2, &c.), and, under inspiration of God the Holy Ghost, embodying it in Holy Scripture. . . . There is this difference between the teaching of the Apostles and that of the Church after them, that what the Apostles taught as the original and fountain-head, *that* the Church only transmitted."—(Dr. Pusey's "Eirenicon," pp. 84, 85.) See "England *v.* Rome," by H. B. Swete.

APPENDIX III.

"THE TOUCHSTONE." By Bishop Coxe of W. N. York.

I.	A.	II.
1. Catholic.	|	1. Occidental.
2. Primitive.	|	2. Mediæval.
3. Vincentian.	|	3. Isidorian.
4. Episcopal.	|	4. Papal.
5. Liturgical.	|	5. Ritualistic.
6. Anglican.	|	6. Gallican.
7. Nicene.	|	7. Trentine.
	Ω.	

And Bishop Coxe thus applies the "Criterion":—

"The Criterion which I have thus presented admits of no evasion. Every one who comprehends the terms may see their application to his own sympathies, and to the measures and the men of the times. Does he bring everything to the rule of Œcumenical Councils and the undivided Church, or does he attach importance and weight to a purely Occidental theology, and to the assumptions of the Latin Councils to legislate for Christendom? Does he bring everything to the test of 'Holy Scripture and ancient authors,' or does he admit Mediæval glosses and scholastic subtleties, unknown to the Primitive age? Is he honestly devoted to the Vincentian tests of Catholicity, so that he feels and adopts the principle that the true Catholics may become a minority in Christendom; or does he attach great importance to *numerical* Catholicity, if not actually accepting the pseudo-Isidorian principle that he is the Catholic who obeys the Pope? Does he believe, with Cyprian, that the Episcopate is the divinely-appointed hinge of the Church's Unity, or does he sink the Episcopate to a mere function of the Papacy, accepting the Papal supremacy itself, 'with a *Concordat?*' Are his Liturgical tastes regulated by Holy Scripture and the Primitive worship, and anchored in the Book of Common Prayer, so that he merely aims to bring out its richness and completeness, and to make it beautiful only by its own laws and analogies, to the edification of the people; or does he, in his heart, desire chiefly a splendid ceremony, and, as near as possible, an imitation of the pompous Romish Ritual? Does he make the blessed Eucharist a reasonable service, a commemoration of our Paschal Lamb, in the solemn and edifying use of the words of our reformed Office, so

that all hearts may follow the solemnity, and be warmed and filled by its Scriptural richness and Liturgic decency and order; or does he make it a mere rite, closely resembling the Latin Mass, gorgeous in its ceremonial, but almost inaudible and unintelligible in its words? Is he an Anglican with Bishop Bull, or a Gallican with Bossuet, bringing himself to the test of their celebrated correspondence? Does he cultivate, in himself and others, the veritable Nicene spirit—the spirit of undivided Christendom, enthroning the Gospels in the midst of the Councils, and doing all things according to that law; or does he perpetually recur to Trent, as if that were a law to Christendom, and as if we were profoundly concerned to accommodate ourselves to its decrees? And there is another question I will ask, of very great practical importance: In respect of the great want of a renewed order of women, separated to good works, does he wish to see the Primitive and Scriptural *deaconess* restored to her place and function in the Church; or does he aim to revive those nunneries and monastic institutions which even the Gallicans are exposing for their hypocrisy and cruelty, and which Italy has just swept away with the besom of destruction, after the largest experience of their pernicious influences? Such questions as these must now be asked in all faithfulness, and answered without evasion."

APPENDIX IV.

Lord Chancellor King's book, "An Inquiry into the Primitive Church," asserts, that on the first introduction of Episcopacy, the diocese of a Bishop never exceeded the bounds of a modern parish—that all the people under his care were accustomed to meet together every Lord's Day for social worship—and that there was only one Altar or Communion Table for each Bishop. This is the amount of what Lord King undertook to prove in the second Chapter of his famous "Inquiry." No book, perhaps, was ever more thoroughly answered, or more convincingly, as far, at least, as Lord King is concerned, than that same "Inquiry" was by Sclater in his "Original Draught of the Primitive Church." Sclater has unanswerably shown that the circumstance of a Primitive diocese being called a Church in the singular number is no proof of the congregational form of it, for that dioceses were

so called in later ages when a plurality of congregations was notorious; and moreover, that *Churches* were often attributed to a single diocese by the ancients, though Lord King had overlooked it, as with the celebrated diocese of Antioch, even in the fourth century; and Eusebius speaks of the mother diocese of Jerusalem itself in the same terms.

In the fifth century, the Council of Carthage calls the extensive diocese of St. Augustine the *Church* of Hippo, only in the singular number. Lord King, too, entirely overlooked the Primitive *Church* of Jerusalem, the number of believers in which was totally inconsistent with the idea of their all meeting together, or literally under one roof, for the purpose of public worship. In the language of antiquity a *parish* was in fact equivalent to the modern term *diocese.* There was "the *parish*" of Rome, "the *parish*" of Constantinople, and "the *parish*" of Carthage. Eusebius tells us ("Eccl. Hist." iii. 4), that Timothy is recorded as having first received the "*parish*" of Ephesus. Lord King mentions that in those primitive days they communicated at least three times a week, "Wednesdays, Fridays, and on Lord's Day," and he does not think that this would have been possible if the Bishop had had inspection over more than one congregation. His difficulty here has arisen from his misapprehending the meaning of the ecclesiastical language used by the authors, and in the times to which he was referring; for the Catholic phrases, one Altar, one Bishop, and the like, no more prove (when properly understood) the necessity of one Communion Table in a Primitive Bishop's diocese, than they would prove the necessity for the existence of one, and one only, in the most extensive diocese of this or any former age, or, indeed, in the largest patriarchal province that was ever settled in the Church. What is required is that every one who ministered at any of them shall have had a just commission from his orthodox superior (the Bishop of each diocese) for his doing so. Otherwise, there would indeed be ALTAR AGAINST ALTAR, and nothing less than formal schism. We are in connection with the *one* Altar, when we are in communion with the *one* Bishop: THE BISHOP IS THE VISIBLE CENTRE OF UNITY TO THE WHOLE DIOCESE.

"The government of the Church by Bishops," says Jeremy Taylor, "is consigned to us by a tradition greater than some books of Scripture, and as great as that of the Lord's Day, and that is so notorious, that THUNDER IS NOT MORE HEARD THAN THIS IS SEEN IN ALL THE MONUMENTS OF ANTIQUITY."

APPENDIX V.

METHODISM.

To observers from without, the two principal differences between Methodism as an organisation and the organisation of other Christian societies, are the systematic changes of preachers and the requirement of attendance of all members at the weekly class. Is there any connection between these two peculiarities of practice? We think there is, and that it is to be found in a peculiarity of doctrine. The first step in the life of a Methodist is made by what is called "Conversion." This conversion does not consist simply in the conviction of the mind that the Gospel is true, and the determination of the will to Christian obedience. But over and above all this, and, in many cases, we fear, instead of some of this, the Methodist's conversion includes a peculiar impression on the feelings. Mr. Wesley himself defines it in these words: "I mean an inward impression on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God immediately and directly witnesses to my spirit that I am a child of God; that Jesus Christ hath loved me, and given Himself for me; that all my sins are blotted out, and I, even I, am reconciled to God." He says also that we cannot know God's love till His Spirit witnesses it to our spirit; that His testimony of the Spirit of God must, in the very nature of things, be *antecedent to the testimony of our own spirit*, and that without this inward impression we can never be assured that we are God's children. Accordingly, the main object of Methodist preaching seems to be to bring about this "impression," and for such a purpose a frequent change of preachers is probably of great use. And to prevent the "impression" once made from passing away, the persons impressed are desired to meet in class, under a chosen leader, once a week, to give an account of their "experience," that is, of the vividness or dulness of the inward "witness"; hymns, and prayers, and mutual advice and encouragement, all being directed very largely to the maintenance of that which is supposed to be the only sure evidence of God's favour. That which Wesley makes all-important is, according to Mr. Spurgeon, impossible. Mr. Wesley says we cannot have faith before we have the inner witness. Mr. Spurgeon says we cannot have the inner witness until we have faith. In his somewhat rude, but forcible, way he says, "The Holy Ghost never sets His seal to a blank sheet of paper." Those two sermons of Wesley's contain the source of all that is specially evil in Methodism, including their unfortunate schism. For when a man had in his

own breast an infallible witness to his being right in the chapel, what force was left to the pleadings even of Wesley himself as to his being wrong in not going to church?

APPENDIX VI.

ANGLICAN ORDERS.

LINGARD'S statement is misleading, in so far as he implies that the words he cites formed the whole of the ceremony of consecration in Parker's case. But the Lambeth Register (whence he derived his information), which gives those words, precedes them with this sentence (in Latin)—"After certain prayers and suffrages to God made *according to the form of the Book put forth by authority of Parliament.*" This must mean Edward VI.'s Ordinal of 1552, for Matins and Litany have been already specified in the record, and the English words then given in the Register, and quoted by you from Lingard, are an exact verbal citation from that Ordinal, which expresses the intention of the rite no fewer than five times: (*a*) in the address to the consecrator by the two presenting Bishops; (*b*) in the mandate for the consecration, then read; (*c*) in the oath of the candidate; (*d*) in a suffrage in the Litany; (*e*) in one of the questions put by the consecrator to the candidate. In the Roman Pontifical, as now used, precisely the same order is followed, and moreover the actual words by which alone a Bishop is consecrated at the moment of laying on hands are simply, "Take the Holy Ghost" (*Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*); on which Catalani, the great authority in such matters, observes in his Commentary on the Pontifical: "Nearly all the schoolmen who discuss the matter and form of the Episcopate, allege the form to lie in these words, *Take the Holy Ghost*, which are uttered by the consecrator and assistant Bishops, laying the Book of the Gospels on the ordinand's head, and also touching his head." The anointing and other ceremonies which follow are merely for dignity and beauty, for the candidate has become a Bishop the moment the words above have been said; and were the office to break off instantly, that would not affect his Episcopal character. Nay, on Roman principles, all that goes before the actual form might be omitted also, provided the intention were made clear somehow. This view is enforced under anathema by the Council of Trent, and accordingly no Roman Catholic can honestly assail the validity of a form like the English

Ordinal of 1552, which uses the crucial words, and simply amplifies them with some further and consistent statements.

The theory that the Pope is the source of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, so that every Bishop and Priest must be directly or indirectly commissioned by him, is extremely easily refuted by the unquestionable fact that several Popes have been regularly deposed and degraded by Councils of Bishops, and their successors, nominated in their stead, are acknowledged as lawful Popes, and not as intruders. The power which can take away the Papacy from one man and give it to another is, therefore, greater than the Papacy itself, and confers, not derives, jurisdiction.

R. S. S.—Pope John XII. was deposed by a Council at Rome in 983; Benedict IX. was deposed, as well as his rival, Silvester III., by the Council of Sutri in 1048, which also compelled the resignation of Gregory VI. The Council of Pisa in 1409 deposed Gregory XII., and the anti-Pope Benedict XIII.; and the Council of Constance in 1415 deposed John XXIII.

At the Bonn Conference of 1874, Dr. Von Dollinger proposed as one of the theses that the Conference should formally acknowledge the validity of Anglican Orders. The Russian delegates pleaded insufficient knowledge of the facts, and the matter was postponed, after statements by Dollinger and Bishop Reinkens in its favour. It came up again in 1875, when Dollinger, in the course of his address, dwelt on the much higher degree of certainty which exists for Anglican Orders than for Roman ones, and this time there was no objection raised by the Orientals, and no discussion arose on the point.

APPENDIX VII.

THE VINCENTIAN RULE.

THE real weight of the maxim lies in its first clause; the "everywhere" and "by all" being merely added as provisos against an attempt to set up, as some Protestant writers have tried to do, a case for certain heresies by showing that they had made their appearance in very early times. The Vincentian rule is proved, first, by our Lord's promise that the Holy Spirit should guide the Apostles into *all* truth; secondly, by numerous passages such as St. Paul's exhortation to St. Timothy to keep that which had been committed to his trust, or St. Jude's exhortation earnestly to contend for the faith once for all delivered to the Saints; and

lastly, by the reason of the thing. For if the Apostles did not receive the whole Gospel, it would follow that people in these days have more spiritual enlightenment than St. Peter, or St. John, or St. Paul. But if the Apostles taught the whole truth, we must expect to find the whole truth in Christian theology from the very first; and thus novelty itself raises an all but insurmountable presumption of error. In a word, the Vincentian rule occupies precisely the same position with regard to Catholic doctrine as common law occupies in English jurisprudence. Though open to exactly the same criticism as the Vincentian rule, the unwritten law of this country is held to be of co-ordinate authority with statutory enactments. As for the application of the rule, we have in the Creeds what professes to be a summary of the teaching of the Catholic Church from the beginning, and unless they can be proved to misstate the Ante-Nicene belief, their evidence cannot be gainsaid. As to the Sacraments, we have the consistent and unimpeachable evidence of the Liturgies, which reach up to the very beginning. As to the Christian ministry, there is the evidence of unbroken usage from the very first. On the other hand, with respect to the Papacy, there is the voice of history, always, everywhere, and from all, against the claims of Rome. To show that this is really the case, it is only necessary to cite the reiterated declaration of Cardinal Manning that to appeal to history is heresy and treason. We may be quite sure that he would not have said that, if he had thought the result of the appeal would have been in his favour.

APPENDIX VIII.

THE ORDER OF CORPORATE REUNION.

THE Rev. W. Allen Whitworth, M.A., of St. John's, Hammersmith, has addressed the following letter to a member of the Order of Corporate Reunion, in reply to a request that he would give his reasons for describing this order as schismatic :—

"I called your order schismatic because I believed it to be practically a new Communion, thrust into existence not to satisfy any true want, seducing members from their allegiance to the Church of England, and adding one to the number of divisions in the Catholic Church.

"First, it is practically *a new Communion.* I know that its members deny this, and compare it rather to a Guild or Society

within the Church. But a Guild does not interfere with the administration of Sacraments, or cause them to be administered by persons not having received authority from the Church of England to administer them. But the O. C. R. does this. I do not care to assert it with respect to the functions of the priesthood, because it may be that all the priests of the O. C. R. were previously ordained in the Church of England, and it might be difficult to prove that any priestly act which they performed was not performed in virtue of their original orders in the Church of England. I will rather instance Episcopal functions; for example, the administration of Confirmation. The O. C. R. is not acting as a Guild or Society within the Church, when it leads members of the Church of England to seek Confirmation not at the hands of an English diocesan, but at the hands of one who has been made a Bishop by the secret co-operation (as is asserted) of a Roman, a Greek, and an Armenian ecclesiastic.

"I do not believe that a man can at the same time owe allegiance to two independent branches of the Christian hierarchy. If a member of the Greek Church were to seek Confirmation at the hands of a Roman Bishop in preference to a Bishop of his own communion, he would practically have renounced his own communion, and that, even though the Roman Bishop thought it good policy to direct him to worship still in the Greek Church. And so, if a member of the Church of England desiring to be confirmed, prefers to receive Confirmation at the hands of an O. C. R. Bishop, rather than of an Anglican Bishop, the question—Who is his father? is implicitly answered; he is tracing his sacramental gifts not through the ministry of the Church of England, but through this new Episcopate, which draws its Apostolical succession through a chain (it may be) of validly consecrated Bishops, but not the chain by which an Apostolic ministry has been given to the Church of England.

"You will observe that I am not at this point raising any question of Episcopal jurisdiction, or considering who has a claim to the Churchman's allegiance. I am not asking who is his Bishop *de jure*. But, *de facto*, his Bishop is the Bishop to whom he goes when he needs Episcopal ministrations. 'To whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey.' And if you choose Bishop F. G. Lee to give you such rites as it is the office of a Bishop to dispense, it is futile to speak of yourself as a member of the Church that acknowledges Bishop Thorold; unless indeed you speak in a like sense with a Presbyterian minister of Liverpool, who used to say that he was a sounder member of the

Church of England than the clergy themselves, or in a like sense with the members of the *soi-disant* 'Free Church of England,' and some other separatist bodies, who, though repudiating the authority of the Church, are pleased to consider themselves in the Church of England.

"I have said enough to justify myself in holding the opinion that the O. C. R. must be regarded not as a Guild within the Church of England, but as a new Communion. And yet it may be well to add a remark upon the fact that members of the order still worship and receive Holy Communion in the Church of England.

"This fact is somewhat startling when taken in connection with another, which I proceed to state. When members of the Church of England join the O. C. R., it is the general practice (or at least the practice followed in the cases I have been able to inquire into) to re-baptize them. This has been done, not because there was in the particular cases some special ground to doubt whether the persons had been baptized, for the parents were living, and there was the usual evidence of baptism, and the priest who administered it was not of bad character, or likely to be careless in the manner of administering it: but it has been done on the general ground that baptism has been very carelessly administered in the Church of England. Now, on this general ground, as much doubt must attach to the baptism of the clergy commonly ministering in our churches as to the baptism of any one else. But if a priest has not been baptized, he is no priest, and the sacraments which he administers are invalid. The man, therefore, who on such general grounds doubts the validity of his own baptism, must equally doubt the validity of the Eucharists celebrated in the Church; and if he is logical, he cannot join in such sacraments. In charity we will impugn his logic rather than his piety.

"But this practice of re-baptism seems to be but a part of a systematic attack by the O. C. R. upon the Church of England. The first number of the Quarterly Journal of the order raked up the false allegations that were made some years ago about the baptism of the Archbishop of Canterbury, detailing with manifest gusto the whole series of allegations, although admitting at last that they had been proved to be untrue. And the members of the order seem to be never weary of throwing all the dirt they can at the Church, in the hope that some of it will stick. Witness Bishop F. G. Lee's recent speech at Hammersmith, which, though ostensibly delivered in support of the A. P. U. C., was from beginning to end such a series of vile attacks upon the Church of England that one wondered why he should wish to remain in it.

"You will understand that I do not say a word against any individual case of re-baptism where the question of the necessity of re-baptism has been decided on the particular merits of the case. But every loyal Churchman must burn with indignation at the insult offered to his Church, when it is assumed as a general rule that baptism administered by the Anglican clergy is to be mistrusted.

"As to any individual cases, I think that a man who feels any doubt as to whether he was properly baptized may well be allowed, within reasonable limits, to be himself the judge of the evidence forthcoming as to the fact of his baptism; and if his doubts be not resolved, it is well that he be hypothetically re-baptized. But when this is done he needs to receive Confirmation, for Confirmation administered before baptism is null and void. Having been re-baptized, he is not eligible to be a communicant in the Church of England until he is confirmed or "ready and willing to be confirmed." And if he refuse to receive his confirmation at the hands of a Bishop of the Church of England, he is practically disowning the Church of England, and must be numbered with other separatists.

"I may point out that if the man in question have been in Holy Orders, he needs, after his re-baptism, not only Confirmation but Ordination before he can validly execute the holy ministry. And if he receive re-ordination not at the hands of the English Episcopate, but from the Bishops of the O. C. R., he cannot without immorality hold any cure of souls in the Church of England. For if he retain his benefice or his license in the Church of England, he is doing so in virtue of an Ordination which in his conscience he believes to have been no Ordination, and which has been secretly superseded by a new Ordination unknown to the Bishop from whom he received his institution or his license.

"But you may possibly say, that though I have shown a want of allegiance to the English *Bishops* on the part of members of the O. C. R., yet this is a different thing from a want of allegiance to the English *Church*. It might be a different thing if the point at issue were some unconstitutional claim that the Bishops were making, which it might be the duty of a loyal Churchman to resist. But to adminster Confirmation to those who are to receive it, in his diocese, is the undoubted prerogative of the Bishop, and to seek Confirmation from another source is therefore a want of allegiance, not only to the Bishop, but to the Church which appointed him.

"And the refusal of allegiance to the Church is shown in many other ways. Clergy of the O. C. R. administer sacraments in English parishes, not according to the rites of the Church of

England: by the very act they are breaking the Church's law, and those to whom they administer such sacraments are thereby seduced from their allegiance to the Church of England.

"And this new Communion is established not to supply any real want. It is true that in some respects our condition in England may be compared to that described in Judges xvii., when 'there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes.' But, in spite of much confusion, the true order of the priesthood remained, and when Micah, of his private judgment, established a priest for himself, no particular blessing attended him, though that priest was of the appointed tribe. No response was accorded to the bold assurance with which he said to himself, 'Now know I that the Lord will do me good, seeing I have a Levite to my priest.'

"Even if we could grant the truth of the preposterous assertion of members of the O. C. R. that the English Bishops have renounced their spiritual authority, and ought practically to be treated as non-existent, it would not save the position of the O. C. R. For even if the Church of England were to lose at once all its Bishops, it would not rest with three foreign ecclesiastics, acting upon their private judgment, to consecrate whom they would, and send them as Bishops to England. The Roman, Greek, and Armenian Bishops, who joined together secretly to consecrate Dr. F. G. Lee and his colleagues, could not think that they were thus supplying the Church of England with an Episcopate. Even if all the sees of England were vacant, Dr. Lee could only be the Bishop of those who chose to accept his ministrations. And this, I believe, is all that he claims. But this very fact shows the schismatic character of the movement. For if it is right for those who have accepted the Episcopal ministrations of Dr. F. G. Lee thus to get for themselves a Bishop, it must equally be right for others of us (still supposing the nonenity of the English Bishops) to get some other three representatives of the Greek, Roman, and Armenian communions to consecrate some Bishops for us; and thus, if the principles of the O. C. R. were acted upon, we might have in half-a-dozen different centres in the Church of England, half-a-dozen different groups of persons unknown to one another, secretly and independently supplying, with the unauthorised aid of foreign prelates, a supposed deficiency in the Church of England. And thus we should have, instead of the Church, half-a-dozen different societies; each with its own Episcopate, and each, if the example of the O. C. R. were followed, with its own eclectic compilation of offices and rites.

"Of course, if it happened by any catastrophe that all the sees of the Anglican Church were simultaneously vacant, it would be highly satisfactory if the Greek, Roman, and Armenian Churches would co-operate to consecrate for us a new Episcopate. Such co-operation (if it were conceivable) would, however, be a totally different thing from what has taken place in the formation of the O. C. R. When the three ecclesiastics joined in consecrating Dr. F. G. Lee as a Bishop, it is not pretended that they were acting with the consent of the Churches to which they respectively belonged. They had no mission to do what they did.

"But if this new Episcopate were indeed (as has been asserted) a divinely-sent deliverance and refuge for members of the Church of England in their supposed condition of Bishop-bereft orphans, it ought to proclaim to us the basis on which it rests. We are bidden to mistrust the validity of our Confirmation and our Ordination received at the hands of the Anglican Bishops, and are urged to make all secure by seeking these rites anew in the O. C. R. But before we trust ourselves to such a refuge, we ought to see on what ground it is erected. Bishop F. G. Lee comes down to Hammersmith and gives us a long tirade full of charges against the Bishops of the Church of England. He tells us that the Archbishop of Canterbury has declared that neither he nor any of the Bishops believe the Athanasian Creed. But when we ask to be allowed equally to inquire into the faith and principles of the Bishops from whom the O. C. R. have received succession, we are refused. A Roman, a Greek, and an Armenian Bishop, we are told, have co-operated to consecrate the Bishops of the O. C. R., but who these three mysterious personages are, we are not to know. We have heard of a man who professed to be an Armenian Bishop, who recently imposed upon some of the leaders of the Old Catholics, but whose pretensions were presently discovered. Is this the man who has assisted in consecrating the Bishops of the O. C. R., and in virtue of whose claims we are grandiosely told that the O. C. R. unites the succession of orders in the Greek, Roman, and Armenian Churches? And who was the representative of the Roman Church? Was he some disreputable Bishop disowned by his Church? Or was he acting with the connivance of the Roman hierarchy, who doubtless are sufficiently far-sighted to perceive that few will be permanently satisfied to rest their claims to be Catholics on the pretensions of the O. C. R., and that when the O. C. R. has sufficiently trained its members to distrust of the Church of England, the Roman Church will be apt to receive a goodly share of converts.

"Even if the O. C. R. could prove—what some of its members are never tired of asserting—that the Anglican Bishops have renounced their ecclesiastical authority,—it would still remain that they are Bishops with as valid orders as the Bishops of the O. C. R. (for it is not pretended that the Church of England has been for centuries without a valid priesthood). And if we are to be persuaded that we should mend our position by seeking sacraments at the hands of these new Bishops, we require not only to be told that they have valid orders from some unmentionable source, but we require also to be shown that they have *mission*, and mission identical with that which the Anglican Bishops are said to have forfeited.

"If the priesthood introduced by the O. C. R. is only a sort of private adventure-priesthood, valid but unauthorised, like that which Micah hired for himself, I do not know what other name to apply to it than that of a 'Schism.' If it is intruding itself into the Church of England, and without the authority of the Church of England surreptitiously performing the functions which her ministry is appointed to perform, I think it would be no breach of Christian charity to fortify the term schismatic by the addition of some other epithets. But if it is offeringitself to the Church of England as a means of remedying some difficulties, real or imaginary, it ought to present its credentials to the Church, and allow them to be judged in broad daylight.

"I do not presume to pronounce any judgment on the motives of the members of the O. C. R. I would not insult the clergy of the order by the supposition, which has been made in some quarters, that these clergy, though *perfectly satisfied in their own conscience* with the baptism, confirmation, and ordination which they received in the Church of England, have committed the sin of repeating these sacraments *for the sake of satisfying their friends of the Greek, Roman, and Armenian communions* who may choose to doubt the validity of the Anglican orders.

"On the motives of individuals I pronounce no judgment, but on the nature of the order I have been forced to form a judgment, and I have felt it my duty to express it.

"I stop here: I think I have said enough, not to convince you that your order is schismatic (I have no hope of this, nor is it the duty which at present devolves upon me), but to satisfy you that those who speak of your order as schismatic do so in good faith, and not without having fairly considered the subject.—I am, Sir, faithfully yours, W. ALLEN WHITWORTH."

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